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NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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Special Commission Reports on Shkoder Unrest

AU2604084891 Tirana ATA in English 0811 GMT 26 Apr 91

[Text] Tirana, April 26 (ATA)—The report of the special parliamentary commission charged by the People's Assembly to follow the course of investigations about the April 1, 2 1991 events in Shkoder, stresses among others that this commission carried out its own activity in the spirit of understanding and full unity of thoughts among its members.

The report mentions the meetings the commission had with representatives of the attorney general's office, the general prosecutors's office, the special investigation group, with representatives of the executive committee of the district people's council, leading cadres of the district interior organs, representatives of various political forces, district social organizations, independent trade unions, as well as with representatives of the religious community.

According to all reports and explanations, the chronology of the Shkoder events is as follows:

On April 1, 1991, in the first morning hours, groups of demonstrators gathered before the building of the Democratic Party in the city of Shkoder, to protest against the conclusions of the March 31 elections launching various slogans "Freedom, democracy", "We do not want communism", etc. In the afternoon the demonstrators, increasing in number, moved towards the committee of the Party of Labour (PLA) continuing with slogans like "The PLA should resign", etc.

This situation continued up to about 21.30 hrs, when the demonstrators dispersed peacefully without the interference of the forces of order.

On April 2, 1991, at about 7.30 hrs, nearly 30 people gathered before the building of the Democratic Party. From there they headed for the building of the committee of the district Party of Labour. On their way there, they were joined by pupils of "Jordan Misja" and "29 Nentori" secondary schools as well as by other inhabitants who came from the city's center. The slogans launched were the same as those of April 1.

At 08.20 hrs, after appeals to the demonstrators to disperse, the forces of order interfered powerfully using rubber clubs. They hit even the school girls and boys who were sitting in the first rows at the square. After this act, the beaten and indignated, the demonstrators began to gather again and to throw stones at the forces of order and the committee of the Labour Party.

At this time the forces of order fired several times a volley of shots and sporadic ones. Arben Broci was shot dead and Nazmi Kryeziu got wounded and then died in the hospital. Their killing added to the people's indignation, whose number mounted to thousand of people launching slogans as "Shkoder Republic", "Enver Hitler", etc.,and throwing stones, whereas the forces of order shooted with firearms. During this situation which lasted for nearly 2 hours, Bujar Bishanaku, Besnik Ceka were killed and many others were wounded.

The situation was further aggravated when two armoured cars, which were set on fire by the demonstrators, arrived. Later the demonstrators entered the committee of the Party of Labour hurling explosive substance and put the building on fire. During this time [there were] the slogans "Tirana fell", "The Central Committee of the Party of Labour is occupied" etc. As a result of these acts 14 persons, out of whom 11 civilians and 3 policemen (one with arm and two with fuel) got wounded with identified firearms. Many other citizens and policemen were wounded with other means.

As it is seen, the chronology of the event is not the one communicated by the Ministry of the Interior in its report of April 4, 1991 and which was announced over the radio-TV.

In the situation created due to the illegal gatherings and manifestations, the forces of order have not acted conform [with] the laws in force and their violation has led to this grave and painful result. The lack of the sublegal acts (instructions or regulations) in applying the decree on the use of firearms and of the decree on meetings, gatherings and manifestations of the citizens in public places, acts which should be issued by the Ministry of the Interior has influenced in carrying out such irregular acts on the part of the forces of order. Likewise the commission noticed that the Interior Ministry has not made a final analysis of the event so far.

Following the events of April 2, 1991, the atmosphere in Shkoder city has been tense, but this does not justify the fact that penal case by the investigator's office and the necessary inquiries did not start immediately, because, as it emerged from the commission's verification a part of them, the most important, such as examination of the place where the event took place, the immediate blocking of weapons used by the forces of order and their surveying, the examination and autopsy of the corpses, detainment and putting under penal responsibility the persons who had acted not conform the decree on the use of fire weapons, were delayed a great deal. Likewise, the prosecutor's organs have not been in the level demanded by their duty.

The special parliamentary commission is of the opinion that through a greater committment of the executive committee of the Shkoder District People's Council and of the political forces, especially of the officials of the Party of Labour, who stood apart, as well as through a correct work of the forces of order the tragic event of April 2 might and should have been avoided.

Despite the shortcomings in the work of the respective organs, the people of Shkoder are convinced that the culprits will soon be handed to the organs of justice. Proceeding from this fact, the special parliamentary commission insisted on accelerating the operations to determine the persons responsible for this event.

The investigator's organs, based on gathered data, decided to detain the head of the interior branch, the chief and vice-chief of the police and four other persons, who, that day have violated the legal norms. This act began on 23/4/1991. Other persons too will be arrested.

The special parliamentary commission emphasized that this is a preliminary report, whereas the final conclusions will be forwarded in the final material to be presented to this Assembly according to the agenda.

People's Assembly Debates Draft Constitution

AU2604082491 Tirana ATA in English 0755 GMT 26 Apr 91

[Text] Tirana, April 26 (ATA)—The fourth sitting of the first session of the 12th legislature of the People's Assembly opened on April 25, at 10.00 hrs. In this sitting discussion went on regarding the first item of the agenda: the examination and adoption of the draft-constitution.

The first to take the floor was the deputy of the Party of Labour, Lufter Xhuveli, who said among others that after four meetings conducted among the representatives of the parliamentary groups of the Party of Labour and the Democratic Party, presided over by the Presidency of the People's Assembly a joint consensus was attained to further as soon as possible the state activity and to adopt a constitutional document on the necessity of continuing the work for compiling a final variant of the constitution, as well as on the creation of a new inter-parliamentary commission for performing the aforesaid duty, in which will take part deputies, specialists and jurists of our country, consulting even foreign specialists. But, during these meetings, they did not manage to agree on the constitutional document to be adopted in course of this discussion.

Further on, deputy Lufter Xhuveli aired his opinion on the discussion in general of the draft-constitution and the adoption in principle of the forwarded variant.

Genc Rupi, deputy of the Democratic Party, pointed out that the country is in the conditions of political and social destabilisation and of a full economic crisis and at the same time is swept by the unstoppable course of thorough changes of its life. He said that the abrogation of the constitution of the year 1976 and the adoption of a new, profoundly democratic and advanced constitution, is, undoubtedly, an efficient factor for the present, and thus more for the future of the country.

He said that the group of DP [Democratic Party] deputies has jumped to the conclusion that the adoption in principle of the draft constitution would not be the right solution for the problems emerging at present. After mentioning the improvements made, but also the shortcomings of this document, he proposed the working out and adoption of a basic law, of a general law, which within a limited number of articles would contain the more essential principles of the organisation of the democratic state, the political economic and social order. This would announce the abrogation of the constitution of 1976 and would serve as a base for electing the head of state, government and of the other necessary organs. Within the framework of this law, he said, various laws would be passed serving to the juridical arrangement of the aspects in various walks of life, society and state.

The other deputies of the Party of Labour who took the floor said that the predisposition of this party is not to use the mechanism of vote. Naturally, they said, the new draft constitution has its own restrictions, and it should be discussed, but it is necessary to elect the head of the state, to advance the state activity, to further develop the relations with foreign countries,etc. They said that at present it is indispensable to endorse in principle the draft constitution for the functioning of the juridical state. The deputies of the Party of Labour considered the draft constitution as being contemporary and dwelt at the same time on arranging the relations between the parties and state, supporting the proposal to endorse this draft constitution in principle.

On their part, the deputies of the Democratic Party said that there must be no haste to endorse the draft constitution. They said that they were for the drafting and endorsing of several laws necessary to promote the state activity. The deputies of this party said that the draft constitution should be compiled taking into consideration the opinion of the political parties which are not represented in the parliament. At the same time they laid the need of examining once again the draft constitution by the inter parliamentary commission. The deputies of this party made suggestions on special articles particularly the one on the competences of the president.

Upon the proposal of some deputies the contributions in the morning sitting ended and the Presidency of the Assembly together with the representatives of the parliamentary groups of the three political forces gathered to discuss on a consensus concerning the two proposals .

In the afternoon sitting debates were conducted on the two proposals made before noon, without reaching to a common opinion.

The chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly Kastriot Islami suggested the deputies to interrupt the planned contributions in order to listen to the report of the special parliamentary commission on the events in Shkoder. The deputies interrupted the contributions voicing the opinion that the stands on the two morning proposals were already expressed.

Then the floor was taken by the deputy Ajli Alushani, chairman of the special parliamentary commission who read out the report of this commission to follow the course of investigations about the events in Shkoder on April 1,2, 1991.

The deputies were told that questions, suggestions and remarks on this report should be forwarded to the special commission.

The People's Assembly continues its proceedings.

Council of Ministers Discusses Land Reform

AU2504181891 Tirana ATA in English 0757 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Tirana, April 25 (ATA)—The Council of Ministers, in its meeting held on April 23, 1991, examined and adopted the decision on fixing the price of land and on its hiring by Albanian physical and juridical private owners. This decision defines the rent taking into consideration the goal that the land will be used for, its location and fertility. According to it, the executive committees of the districts and the ministries of agriculture, construction, trade, and finances are charged with the duty of defining the rent. At this meeting, too, the government adopted another decision on the criteria of fixing the price of land on temporary hiring by foreign juridical and physical persons who carry out their activity in the territory of our country. This rent is defined by the Ministry of Agriculture and that of finances, taking into consideration the goal it will be used for, the time it will be used, the location and fertility of land.

In order to exploit as well as possible the state asset and to create the most suitable conditions for private activity, the Council of Ministers established also the criteria on fixing the rent for different objects which are a state property, and which will be granted to Albanian and private subjects or to foreign physical and juridical persons. The rent of these objects is fixed by the state enterprise according to the following criteria: The location of the object, its value, the scale of amortization, and the goal it is used for.

In its meeting the Council of Ministers adopted the decision for the creation of the "Rinia" ("Youth") enterprise in Tirana and the decision for the creation of the joint "Marini-Alb Plastic" venture for the production of plastic profiles and windows.

New Social Democratic Party Issues Statement

AU2304190091 Tirana ATA in English 1800 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Report on statement issued by the Social Democratic Party; place and date not given]

[Text] Tirana, April 23 (ATA)—This party was born in the new political pluralist circumstances, which is a major achievement of the democratic forces of the country, a statement of this party says among the other things. The Social Democratic Party, relying on the Albanian political progressive and democratic tradition and the great and positive experience of European social democracy, will work and strive with might and main to overcome as soon as possible the deepest crisis that has gripped our country in all the fields during this half a century. It will strive for the prosperity and unity of the Albanian nation and for its adherence to the democratic family of the European peoples.

The Social Democratic Party will strive through legal means and ways, relying on the will and aspirations of the people, for the further development and promotion of the democratic processes in Albania, the creation of a sound political atmosphere, where the spirit of dialogue, tolerance, and consensus, social peace and public security prevail.

This party, as an organized and independent political force of the opposition will always be ready on behalf of the lofty interests of the nation and homeland, its freedom and independence, democracy and progress, to coordinate its efforts with all the other political parties.

Ambassador to Budapest on Changing Situation

AU2404111391 Budapest BESZELO in Hungarian 20 Apr 91 p 20

[Interview with Ambassador to Budapest Jani Polena by Akos Gabor Toth; place and date not given: "Left-Hand Drive?"—first paragrah is BESZELO introduction]

[Text] The spirit of openness seems to have also reached the Albanian Embassy, because the inquiring journalist is awaited with ready information instead of the former polite refusal. Jani Polena received the BESZELO reporter first, out of all Hungarian newspapers and, at our request, commented on the events of the past few days and weeks.

[Toth] Mr. Ambassador! How do you explain the Albanian Workers Party's [PPSh] overwhelming victory in the election, while Ramiz Alia and other leaders were locally defeated?

[Polena] The PPSh's real victory consists in giving the green light to Albania's first pluralist election. This election took place legitimately, without any extreme events, and in a democratic manner. Some 93 percent of the urban population and 96 percent of the rural population voted in the election. This justifies the party's strategy, which consists in us having to do away with the mistakes of the past, to ensure sovereignty, and to lay down our economic policy such a way that Albania—which is a strategically very important small country—could maintain good relations both with the West and the East. All I want to say about the local defeat of Ramiz Alia is that he was running in a district where the opposition had a greater support.

[Toth] Why did the PPSh refuse the election system based on a list of candidates?

[Polena] Being the party in office, the PPSh was in the position to make a decision. Especially in rural areas, the people voted on the basis of personal contacts and reputation, because they could not comprehend the parties' programs. Obviously, this favored the PPSh; there is no use denying that.

[Toth] In your view, does a coalition government have a realistic chance, as was suggested by Alia before the election?

[Polena] After the election, the Democratic Party said no to the call for a coalition. Maybe they think it is better for them to be a strong opposition party, than a coalition partner in minority.

[Toth] Is the danger of a civil war that news analysts often talk about a real possibility? To my knowledge, there are many weapons in public possession.

[Polena] I am convinced that the Albanian people are politically mature enough to exercise their power and carry out the necessary reforms through legally elected representatives; however, we must not forget that the PPSh created the possibility for all this.

[Toth] How much do you think the transitional period in Albania resembles Hungary's case? In general, how much notice will you take of the former socialist countries' experiences in this respect?

[Polena] We would like to protect our country and people from the extremes of transition that the above-mentioned countries experienced. Albania has always followed a separate road and is still insisting on its decision to do so. It is also not worth drawing many comparisons, because my country is a very poor country; it started from far behind, which means that it has to take bigger steps to join up with Europe. It is, therefore, understandable that we cannot afford to become more impoverished, or to have growing unemployment.

[Toth] What course can the Albanian foreign policy take after the election? The West is said to be providing humanitarian aid only, while Albania would need capital investment mainly.

[Polena] There is some progress though, because we signed a three-year agreement with Italy on investment in both industry and tourism. Turkey has contributed $30 million, and Greece has contributed $20 million toward setting up the basic infrastructure and banking processes. We are also negotiating with Germany concerning mainly the joint extraction of oil from the sea.

[Toth] How would you characterize the existing Hungarian-Albanian relations?

[Polena] We anticipate Hungarian investors, especially because your prices are more acceptable for us than those of similar Western companies. We may consider the exchange of parliamentary delegations; an Albanian ministerial delegation visited Hungary recently, which consisted of three experts (an economist, a financial expert, and a lawyer) who studied your preparations for privatization. Incidentally, the two countries have a balanced trade of around $35 million each.

[Toth] What sort of steps will be taken to revive the economy and to entice the refugees back to Albania?

[Polena] We will set up a privatization committee, and a committee to deal with emigration on coalition basis in April. The tasks of the two committees are interdependent, because we would not like to export our work force but the final product of our work. We will establish contact with the Western countries, at first with Italy of course, and we will try to achieve the legal employment of the Albanians living abroad, or failing that, their return to Albania. Privatization will bring economic prosperity, thus increasing manpower demand in its wake. To start with, we would like to put services and smaller factories into private ownership.

[Toth] Would you have expected to be relieved of your office in case of a possible opposition victory?

[Polena] No, I would not. I have represented my country in Budapest for approximately 30 years, and I expect my work to be increasingly necessary more in the economic sphere, rather than in protocol. At any rate, the embassy and the ambassador cannot advocate party interests, they are both subordinates of the state, and the presidium.

World Bank Mission Delegation Continues Visit

Holds Talks With Officials

AU2304164691 Tirana ATA in English 0830 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Text] Tirana, April 23 (ATA)—The vice-director general of the Albanian State Bank, Kamber Myftari, received the working mission of the World Bank on April 22, before noon.

After wishing it welcome, he had with it a warm and friendly talk. He acquainted the delegation with the development of the democratization processes of all the country's life in the political, economic, and social fields. He dwelt in particular on the measures being taken in our country about the economic reform for the gradual switch to the market economy, for the creation of joint ventures with the participation of foreign capital and for the protection of foreign investments, for the process of privatization in economy, etc.

Likewise, he pointed to the need of improving the bank system, so that it backs the development of the economic and privatization reform, and acquainted the members of the mission with the difficulties our economy is faced due to the lack of foreign currency and financial means, as well as with the measures being adopted in this direction.

The chairman of the mission of the World Bank, Adil Kanan, executive director in this bank, thanked for the warm reception extended to them. He underlined that the aim of the mission's visit here is to accelerate the process of Albania's adherence to the World Bank. In this regard, he said that a full and accurate information on the country's economy is necessary in order to build up mutual confidence.

Responding to the questions by the mission's members, Kamber Myftari gave explanations on problems of improving legislation in the economic-financial field, on running and organizing the economy, prices, courses of exchange, etc., expressing also the need of technical assistance by the World Bank.

Following this meeting, the members of the mission started immediately the work with experts of the Albanian State Bank.

During its stay in our country, the mission of the World Bank will have meetings also in the Albanian State Bank on Foreign Relations, in the State Planning Commission, in other ministries, agricultural enterprises, and economies, and a seminar will be organized with specialists of various fields and ministries.

Mission Activities Reported

AU2504181691 Tirana ATA in English 0817 GMT 24 Apr 91

[Text] Tirana, April 24 (ATA)—On April 23, the World Bank working mission, that has come to our country for Albania's adherence in this international organism, and the Albanian State Bank, organized a seminar on the World Bank organizational structure, the functioning, legislation, etc., in one of the halls of the Albanian State Bank.

The head of the mission, Adil Kanan, executive director at the World Bank, after thanking for the participation, voiced the satisfaction that the mission he leads, is the first one of the World Bank visiting Albania, and his confidence that cooperation between the World Bank and Albania will begin soon. Our first and short visit, he said, will be followed by the visit of another World Bank mission in June. Then he elaborated the World Bank structure of management and of its organisms, such as the Governors' Council, the Executive Managers' Council of the groups of countries participating in this bank, etc. He spoke also on the preliminary work to be done for membership in the World Bank, such as the strategy for aid, the priority fields for investments. He spoke also on the conditions of granting aid, financing of studies, projects, etc., and the efficiency of their realization, granting technical aid, etc.

The member of the mission, Louis Forger [name as received], jurist who deals with the legal procedures of membership in the World Bank, spoke of the structure of this bank. He concentrated on the sources and criteria of granting funds, loans, guarantees, etc., to contribute to the acceleration of the economic development of the members of the World Bank, especially of the undeveloped countries.

Franc J. Lussut, [name as received] economist, spoke on the functions of the Institute for Economic Development, created in 1950. It studies the economic policy of the members of the World Bank and works to define the most appropriate ways for granting credits and aid, for the qualification of experts, etc.

The members of the mission responded to the questions of the participants in the seminar with regard to the interest rate of the credits and loans, payment of debts, guarantees, the influence of the foreign and internal debts in granting loans to a country, etc., of which they made the necessary explanations.

Besides, the members of the mission of the World Bank, divided in groups, had other separate meetings with leading cadres and specialists of the State Planning Commission, the Albanian State Bank, the State Bank for Foreign Relations, the Ministry of Finances, and other ministries and sectors.

Meetings Held in Ministries

AU2504181791 Tirana ATA in English 0924 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Tirana, April 25 (ATA)—In continuation of their stay in our country, the participants of the working mission of the World Bank who have come to prepare the necessary procedures for Albania's adherence in the World Bank, divided in groups, had on April 24 separate meetings in ministries and institutions.

The Minister of Agriculture, Ahmet Osja, stressed among others in the meeting with the chairman of this mission, Adil Kanan, executive director at the World Bank, and with other members of the mission the need for cooperation with the World Bank on financing the projects in the field of agriculture, giving priority to the introduction of new technologies for the increase of agricultural and livestock products, investments for the improvement of irrigation technique and technology, the development of arboriculture and consolidation of the research-scientific work, the qualification of specialists of agriculture, etc. Those in the meeting exchanged opinions on the support of the private sector in agriculture and livestock.

On their part, the experts of the World Bank thanked for the expose and said that the other mission which will come to Albania in the coming months, will work with the Albanian specialists to study and prepare the projects to be financed by the World Bank.

The members of the World Bank working mission met also with the Minister of Constructions, Leonard Nano. After speaking about the organization and main directions of the work in this ministry, he dwelt on the intention for more rapid rates in constructions, in the industry of building materials, so that it responds to the increasing demands of development. He underlined in particular the need for the increase of the rates of construction of houses which is one of the actual social problems. In this regard, he laid the stress on the need of renovation of construction, machineries, and building equipment, transport, etc.

Experts of the mission put questions and asked for explanations on problems which have to do with the application of the economic reform in the sector of construction, stressing also some measures to be adopted to back up the private activity in this sector, as a condition for the increase of the efficiency of investments in construction.

Besides, the members of the World Bank working mission had meetings with leading cadres and specialists at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation, the Ministry of Industry, Mining, and Energy, the Ministry of Transportation, the Ministry of Education, that of Health, Justice, at the General Department of Post-Telecommunications, where they talked on problems which have to do with the conditions of Albania's acceptance and the procedures in the World Bank, on legislative problems linked with it, the study of the state of the economy of Albania and the perspectives of its development, for the consolidation of the cooperation with international organisms, with foreign ventures and firms, etc., which will contribute to the realization of the economic reform in Albania.

Government Delegation Departs for Italy

AU2104185591 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 21 Apr 91

[Text] A government delegation headed by Aleks Luarasi, general secretary of the Council of Ministers, left today for Italy. The delegation will carry out negotiations with the Italian authorities on the ways to further extend and promote relations between the two countries in the political, economic, cultural, and humanitarian fields, and particularly on the question of Albanian citizens who have left for Italy.

The delegation was seen off at Rinas Airport by Shkelqim Cani, deputy secretary of the Council of Ministers, and Deputy Foreign Minister Sokrat Plaka.

Torquato Cardillo, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Italian Republic in Tirana, was also present.

Activities in Rome Reported

AU2504181991 Tirana ATA in English 0802 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Tirana, April 25 (ATA)—During his visit to Italy, the secretary general of the Council of Ministers, Aleks Luarasi, met and had talks with the Italian Minister of Emigration, Margarita Boniver, on April 24.

On this occasion, they exchanged opinions on the extension of friendly relations and cooperation between Albania and Italy, in the political, economic, trade fields, etc. Both parties agreed that real possibilities exist for the intensification of cooperation, especially on the elevation of the level of the visits of senior personalities of both countries, for Italian Investments in Albania, etc.

They discussed also on the situation of the Albanian citizens who have emigrated to Italy of late, on their accommodation, treatment, employment, etc. Both personalities emphasized the necessity to avoid exoduses like those of last March, through concerted efforts in the future and exchanged opinions on the measures to be adopted in this direction.

The general secretary, Aleks Luarasi, informed the Italian minister of the processes of democratization going on in all the fields of life in our country and of the 31st March elections, which led to the creation of the pluralistic Parliament in Albania. He underscored the irreversible character of these processes that are leading our country towards its integration in Europe. On her part Margarita Boniver expressed her country's support for the democratic processes and their further promotion.

The talks, which were attended also by the ambassador of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Dashnor Dervishi, were conducted in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

The Albanian Government delegation, headed by Aleks Luarasi, general secretary of the Council of Ministers, conducted negotiations at the Italian Foreign Ministry with the general director of the Foreign Ministry for Emigration, Z. Calamia [name as received], the general director of the Civic Service Department at the Ministry of the Interior, C. Gelati [name as received] and other representatives. They discussed at the meeting on the problems and state of Albanian nationals who fled to Italy last month.

Thanking Italy for its hospitality and generosity, the Albanian party expressed its special concern for the problem of the refugees and the readiness to contribute to solve it positively.

They discussed particularly on the problem of the Albanian infants who are in Italy, the possibility of repatriating them, the aid and possibility to repatriate the refugees voluntarily, to join their families and facilities to establish contacts.

As for the problem of teenagers, they reached an agreement to accelerate as soon as possible the procedures of identifying them, informing their families and repatriating them.

As for the question of their voluntary repatriation, the Albanian delegation confirmed the statement made in Tirana on March 14 this year, on occasion of the visit to Albania by the representatives of the UN Secretary General, according to which every Albanian national who has left the country contrary to the envisaged procedures, will not be penally prosecuted and may come back freely, in full dignity and security.

Concerning this, an agreement was reached for creating a commission made up of representatives of the Albanian Government, Italian Government, and UN Supreme

Commissariat for Refugees which, in close cooperation, may monitor the regular application of the programs of repatriation, organized under the auspices of the International Emigration Organization.

The Italian party again laid the stress on the prevention of the forms of exodus as those in the early days of March, adopting the proper measures. The Albanian party assured them for this.

The meeting was also attended by representatives of the UN Supreme Commissariat for Refugees and the International Emigration Organization. The meeting was also attended by the Ambassador of the PSR of Albania in Italy, Dashnor Dervishi

On April 24, before noon, the general secretary of the Council of Ministers, Aleks Luarasi, met and held talks with the under-secretary general of the Italian Socialist Party, Giuglio de Donato, at the seat of this party. They spoke at the meeting on the process of the all-sided democratization of life in our country, the recent free elections in Albania, and the creation of the pluralist Parliament. They also exchanged views on the possibilities of further increasing the relations between our two peoples and countries.

In the course of his visit to Rome, Aleks Luarasi met with deputies and senators of the Italian Parliament, with whom they talked on the recent democratic developments in Albania and the development of relations between our two neighboring countries.

Parties, Public Organizations Must Return Funds

AU2504180591 Sofia BTA in English 1427 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Sofia, April 25 (BTA)—The leaderships of the Bulgarian Socialist (ex-Communist) Party, of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party, and the public organizations should recoup to the national budget the unlawfully and unduly obtained funds in the period from 1949 to 1990, Minister of Finance Ivan Kostov said.

The Socialist Party is the biggest debtor to the state. Its predecessor, the Communist Party, has taken over 1,770 million leva, and at the beginning of March its debt amounted to more than 2,700 million leva, interest included. The successor of the communist youth organization, the Bulgarian Democratic Youth, owes over 5,000,000 leva. The Bulgarian Agrarian Party's debt amounts to 300,000,000 leva. The Fatherland Front owes 205 million leva, including interests.

Ministry Details Outstanding Funds

AU2604071091 Sofia BTA in English 2010 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Sofia, April 25 (BTA)—Four organizations will have to refund 3,768,000,000 leva to the national budget. Experts say there can be no doubt about the authenticity of the information concerning the debt of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), the National Executive Council of the Bulgarian Democratic Youth (BDY), the Standing Committee of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) and the National Council of the Fatherland Union.

The facts have been derived from the documentation of the Ministry of Finance for the 1949-1990 period. A BTA reporter learned that Mr. Ivan Kostov, minister of finance, had made a report on this problem which he presented to the president of the Republic, the prime minister, the prosecutor general and to the leaders of the political forces and the trade unions.

The conclusion of the experts is that the receipt of these large amounts was legally ungrounded. Their allocation was not discussed at the Bulgarian Parliament when debating the national budget for the respective years.

BTA was informed that the experts were faced by serious difficulties because the data reveal that in 1990 the former Central Committee [CC] got 40 million leva which illegally were accounted as 1989 expenditures.

On the strength of secret governmental resolutions the former CC of the BCP used to receive large amounts in U.S. dollars without any motivation.

Protocol activities alone, the meetings ex-No. 1 Todor Zhivkov had with diplomats in the last ten years of his rule, cost the state more than 84.8 million leva.

BDY which succeeded the Dimitrov Young Communist League (DYCL) is to refund not less than 570.5 million leva to the national budget. Its predecessor, however, received more money through the Fund for Young Peoples' Technical and Scientific Endeavor. Last year the DYCL Central Committee set up a foundation named "Heurica" and thus managed to divert 61 million leva which, by a governmental decision, should otherwise have gone to the state.

The Standing Committee of the BZNS owes 291,100,000 leva, interest included. The National Council of the Fatherland Union has got to repay 205,200,000 leva.

The successors of the major organizations subsidized by the budget in the last 42 years created problems for the investigators. Only the National Council of the Fatherland Union and the Confederation of the Independent Trade Unions responded in time.

In this period of reckless generosity while the people were deceived by presenting falsified data to them the country's public and external debt was growing.

It is pointed out in the report of the minister of finance that the respective parties and organizations should consider the document as a prompting to repay the amounts owed to the state within a month. If they fail to do it, the legitimate interest on back duties will be imposed.

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The former Security and Protection Department is undergoing an audit that will be completed in May. The records of the government, of the Special Department of the Ministry of Finance, of the "Kintex" company which was involved in arms trade are being examined along with the "black money funds" of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations. Now is the season of audits, Finance Minister Ivan Kostov told the press. He expects that by mid-June the abuses and the cases of wrongful disposal of money granted by the national budget will come to light.

Weekly on Identity of 'Dimitur' Informer

AU2604071391 Sofia BTA in English 2208 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Sofia, April 25 (BTA)—The police file of the secret services agent encoded under the name of Dimitur which was brought out by the "REPORTER 7" weekly a week ago is not a state secret, Ms. Binka Peeva, editor-in-chief of the paper, told a news conference today. This was Ms. Peeva's reply to the statement of Interior Minister Khristo Danov who said that an investigation was opened to clarify this and other similar cases of releasing information which is essentially state secret.

Mr. Danov's statement that the publications who dared bring out information concerning the police files will be closed down was qualified by the editorial staff of "REPORTER 7" as irresponsible. According to the journalists it would be an infringement upon the freedom of speech and the press, they pointed that the

investigation would have to prove they are guilty which, in their opinion, is far from being sure.

"REPORTER 7" is a privately owned independent weekly, the paper editors stated. It is published by the associate company established by six journalists who deny having any connections whatsoever with the State Security as some papers implied. They defined the reaction against their feature as an attempt to bring the independent papers under control.

Journalist Union Declaration on Names Publication

AU2604071191 Sofia BTA in English 2222 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Sofia, April 25 (BTA)—No doubt there are unwritten rules which nobody should break, especially when it is human fates that are sealed through the mass media, it is said in the declaration of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists (UBJ) adopted at today's meeting of the UBJ leadership. The declaration was made in connection with the publications in "FAKS" and "REPORTER 7" on "the informers of the Political Police," as these two papers said.

Some of the mass media and certain individuals have been trying of late to throw light on the problem of some unidentified informers and agents of the State Security, it is said in the document. This satisfied certain circles of the society and outraged others. The UBJ has its officially adopted laws of journalistic ethics and confirms its unflinching adherence to the principles of the freedom of speech. It is Bulgaria's legislation which determines the rights and duties of her citizens, no matter what their political leanings may be. In all our future activity we will be guided by our personal ethics and will perform our professional duties which consist in supplying information to the free and democratic Bulgarian society, it is emphasized in the declaration of the UBJ.

Soviet Energy Supplies Cut; Reserves Sufficient

AU2504115191 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 20 Apr 91 p 1

[Stoyan Sirakov report: "The Restrictions on Electricity Again Raise Their Head"]

[Text] The country has not received any supply of electricity from the Soviet Union for the past two weeks. Because of this, the drop in power has been about 800 megawatts and the current as of today will fluctuate, stated Chairman of the Energy Committee Lyudmil Genov at yesterday's meeting of the Commission for Operational Coordination and Control of Energy and Raw Material Supplies in the country.

The official version of this is that repairs need to be carried out on the grid but the possibility that this is caused due to lack of financial resources for the second quarter of the year cannot be ruled out, he said. Repairs begin on Monday on the fourth block of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant and power supplies will fall by another 500 megawatts. That is why to get the sixth block running has become the first priority of the commission and the country, said Mr. Aleksandur Tomov. A decision was taken at the meeting to seek international aid for the nuclear power plant from Paris, Vienna, and Brussels.

Reserves are sufficient for petrol coupons and the situation here is relatively stable. The bad thing is that only one tanker of the planned delivery of 400 thousand tons of oil due by 9 April has arrived. The main reason for the lack of petrol supplies are the fixed prices because sufficient funds are not available in the budget to cover the difference. However, Mr. Tomov thinks that the situation ought to be more stable in May.

Quantities of diesel for agricultural use ought to be centered on areas having difficulties, namely the Plovdiv district, the commission decided. However, the problem still remains of what to do with those users who are persistent non-payers.

The supply of petroleum products to the Blagoevgrad region is extremely severe. The 60-ton fuel tank for Petrich in the region of the station has been taken over by the Vasil Markov repair plant. The commission's stand on these areas is that they will have priority when supplies are distributed.

The reservoirs have more water in them than in previous years but, even though it may seem strange, power consumption has risen for everyday needs, Genov said.

Activation of Kozloduy's New Reactor Postponed

AU2504205591 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 18 Apr 91 p 2

[Stoyan Sirakov report: "Activation of Sixth Reactor in Kozloduy Postponed"]

[Text] As long as manpower shortages continue the sixth reactor of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant must not be activated, according to most of the experts working in Kozloduy. Others, apparently prepared to make self-sacrifices, think it can be started up. The greatest pessimists see September as a suitable date, although they did not specify September of which year.

Until now the activation was postponed because of the manpower shortage and certain normal technical difficulties. Most Soviet experts have already departed. Only two remain because of personal contracts. This fact definitely characterizes the chronic disease of the nuclear plant—a lack of experts.

From 1981 to 1989, 964 people were supposed to come to Kozloduy. Some 341 were appointed, others succeeded in finding other jobs, and the Committee for Power Supply is trying to track down the remaining 300

to sue them for breach of contract. Under those circumstances, if the sixth reactor is activated, the experts of the fifth must be transferred to it, and this will place them in a very difficult position.

The future is unclear because of the obsolete technological equipment of the first four reactors. In the opinion of Professor Tsvetan Bonchev, chairman of the presidential commission on the power plant, under those circumstances their use is possible if highly qualified personnel are involved. The average time needed to train a good operator is eight years, and those who work at the moment in the nuclear power plant cannot perform miracles forever, he thinks.

The wages must be such that those who left would like to return and new applicants would have to wait in line, Georgi Stoilov, chairman of the power supply workers' trade union says. For his part, Prof. Genov said that while the wages will not be fantastic from the viewpoint of the comprehensive social situation, they nevertheless will be very decent.

The government will guarantee financing for the operation, under special conditions, of the first four reactors and will increase wages. The experts at the nuclear power plant will be required to show firm discipline and readiness to assume responsibility, Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandur Tomov said. The members of the Committee on Power Supply said similar things. For their part, the nuclear plant's experts insist on receiving better everyday living conditions.

The Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant does not represent a specific ecological danger. The levels of radioactivity measured are within the allowed limits. The members of the presidential commission, who thoroughly inspected the plant, credit the experts who work there for this situation.

National Assembly Economic Debate Reported

AU2604081691 Sofia BTA in English 0702 GMT 26 Apr 91

[Text] Sofia, April 25 (BTA)—Today the Bulgarian Parliament resumed the debates on two of the bills which are especially important for the economic reform on the protection of competition and on foreign investments. After a special decision was adopted yesterday, the scandal over the MP's police files is dying away. The parliamentary group of the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) [SDS] moved for discussing the problem of the state subsidies illegally granted to the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP), the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS), the Dimitrov Young Communist League (DYCL) and the Fatherland Front. Their motion almost raised hell in parliament again.

On opening the discussion on the agenda, the UDF parliamentary faction demanded that the Socialist Party which inherited all property rights of the BCP, the BZNS and the organizations which succeeded DYCL and the Fatherland Front should refund the subsidies they received from the state without any legal ground in the 1949-1990 period, crediting the money to the revenue side of the 1991 updated national budget. The socialist majority voted down the motion and the item was not included in the agenda. The argument put forward to explain the negative vote was that the parliamentary committees should take a stand on the problem first.

A group of 39 UDF deputies moved for debating and fixing the date on which the Bulgarian Parliament should dissolve itself. The problem was not considered, but it will probably be raised in a couple of days at an extended session of the Parliamentary Bureau and the leaders of the parliamentary groups.

Minister Paparizov on Economic Talks in Paris

AU2604115691 Sofia BTA in English 1105 GMT 26 Apr 91

[Text] Sofia, April 26 (BTA)—We discussed all problems of Bulgaro-French trade and economic relations and I can assert that there is a renewed interest in Bulgaria, Mr. Atanas Paparizov, minister of foreign economic relations, told journalists last night upon his arrival from Paris, where the first session of the Joint Bulgaro-French Committee took place.

The Bulgarian delegation met about a hundred French businessmen who expressed their wish to strengthen the positions of their companies in this country. The session discussed drafts for their joint work with Bulgarian partners in a number of spheres nuclear power engineering, farm machine building, etc.

The session paid special attention to Bulgaria's relations with the European Community. The French side expressed support for the preliminary talks with the EC for our association to it which are to start this summer. I think that this is a "good deposit" in the preparation of Prime Minister Dimitur Popov's visit to Brussels which is to start in three days.

Deputy Minister on Rescheduling of Foreign Debt

AU2604071491 Sofia BTA in English 2151 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Sofia, April 25 (BTA)—Bulgaria was late in embarking on the road to reform, but its pace is quick. The country is decided to carry through the structural reform in its economy by creating a dynamic private sector. The favorable decision of the Paris Club to reschedule Bulgaria's debt under the intergovernmental credits is yet another proof of the confidence the international public has in the country's economic policy whose target is the transition to a market economy.

The above statement was made for BTA by Ms. Mariana Todorova, deputy minister of foreign economic relations and coordinator of interdepartmental committee for negotiations with the 308 commercial creditor banks. Ms. Todorova prognosticated that Bulgaria would sign

an agreement with her creditors at the end of this year or at the beginning of the next. She is optimistic as to finding a mutually acceptable solution to the problem. Bulgaria offers a "menu" of variants for the settlement of the debt problems that would be to the advantage of all her creditors. It is these variants that are being discussed.

And yet this is an equation with many unknowns, the most important of which is the progress of the reform. Bulgaria is advancing along an untrodden track in the same way the other East European countries are, Ms. Todorova said. It is her belief that the international support the country receives would contribute to overcome the stagnation and revive Bulgaria's economy.

Prodev Resigns as Journalists Union Chairman

AU2504164591 Sofia BTA in English 1614 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Sofia, April 25 (BTA)—At today's meeting of the leadership of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists (BJU) Mr. Stefan Prodev resigned from his post as BJU president. Mr. Prodev, editor-in-chief of the Socialist "DUMA" daily, explained that he was subjected to attacks and became undesirable because he is a Socialist.

Mr. Prodev has long been called upon to do so. The reasons for the discontent of part of the public that do not share the views of the Bulgarian Socialist (formerly Communist) Party are rooted in the policy line advanced in Mr. Prodev's daily, in the conviction that it is improper for a man of pronounced party biases to head the journalists' professional organization.

Despite the disputes over Mr. Prodev's political conduct, nobody denies his professional skill. In the past he was considered to be a dissident. Before Todor Zhivkov's ousting, he was editor-in-chief of the "NARODNA KULTURA" weekly and was often attacked by the authorities for the sympathy he felt for the Soviet perestroyka and for his critical approach to Bulgaria's home problems. He was removed from his post at that time.

'Atmosphere' Outside SNR Building Reported

LD2504163291 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] After yesterday's 13th Slovak National Council Plenum session and the consequent rally of Bratislava citizens in Slovak National Uprising Square, we asked our Bratislava colleagues to give us some information. Jarmila Tosecka went out to the streets of Bratislava:

[Tosecka] I went out to taste the atmosphere of Bratislava today. It is raining. It is a sad day, but otherwise the center of the city is as usual. Nothing special at the Slovak National Uprising Square or at the Danube embankment, or anywhere else we visited. The mood is, however, quite different in front of the Slovak National Council building.

Since this morning, it has not been possible to pass by the front of the Slovak National Council building. Journalists are allowed in only by showing a press card. Deputies, naturally, can get in. The special feature, however, is that toward Staromestska Street, there is no opening in the fence. I had to climb over it, and it was rather high. Just behind me was a deputy, who was doing this sporty act even though he had his deputy's card.

[Begin recording] [Tosecka] Mr. Deputy, wait. This is a very interesting situation—a Slovak National Council deputy having to climb over a fence to get into the building.

[Unidentified deputy] It is not very pleasant, but obviously this is a consequence of democracy. We have to get used to it.

[Tosecka] I would like to add that a policeman, when I commented on the deputies being forced into such an undignified act, said: If they are afraid to enter the legislature from the main entrance, it is their business! By the way, in front of each entrance is a small group of people. They have been there since this morning.

I would like to mention here that the crowd in front of the Slovak National Council building this morning cordially welcomed Jozef Markus, chairman of the Slovak National Council, and Peter Weiss, chairman of the Party of Democratic Left.

I counted about 50 policemen in the vicinity of the Slovak National Council building. There are about 500 people in the crowd. Here are some views from the crowd—I must add, the most moderate: The new government is worth nothing; the old one was better; why did they recall Meciar and Knazko?

[Unidentified woman] They let people elect them, and now they are ashamed of us. Now they do not even let us get to them. They are ashamed of the Slovak nation.

[First unidentified man] Why does he not want to speak with his electors? Why is he a traitor? And Carnorgsky, too. Let them resign and stop betraying the nation.

[Second unidentified man] It is very sad what is happening here, what we are witnessing now.

[Third unidentified man] It is like totalitarianism.

[Second unidentified man] Things were not so bad, even in the time of totalitarianism.

[Fourth unidentified man] This nation yesterday expressed certain demands from a crowd of 100,000 people. How is it possible that this democratic display is not respected, not even its will or its results. [end recording]

[Tosecka] The second day of the 13th Slovak National Council Plenum session opened to such a stormy atmosphere.

No 'Improper Behavior'

LD2504175291 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] During the second day of the session of the 13th meeting of the Slovak National Council, by 1700 there were no demonstrations or other displays of dissatisfaction typical of yesterday.

The police did not need to interfere in the area in front of the Slovak National Council. According to the law on banning demonstrations within 100 meters of the government session, a protective zone was built out of iron stands, thus securing the undisturbed course of the Council session. About 200 to 300 people, assembled in the nearby Hurbanovo Square were peacefully following the proceedings over the radio throughout the day. No riots or improper behavior occurred.

In the Slovak National Uprising Square there were groups of people who have long been promoting ideas and views on setting up an independent Slovak state.

Trade Unions To Protest Presidium Actions

LD2504193791 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Interview with Slovak Trade Union Confederation Chairman Svetozar Korbel by Ludmila Bulakova on 25 April; place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] Internal developments in Slovakia and the coordination of their further approach—those were the main topics of today's extraordinary session of trade unionists affiliated with the Slovak Trade Union Confederation. Since the first calls for protest strikes are already being heard, our editor Ludmila Bulakova asked Slovak Trade Union Confederation Chairman Svetozar Korbel for this interview:

[Bulakova] Trade unionists in the Bratislava bus and tram depots declared a 10-minute warning strike yesterday, and today the Slovak chamber of the trade union association of railway workers and the Bratislava regional council of the railway workers' trade union

expressed their disagreement with the action of the Slovak National Council [SNR] Presidium's changes in the government by staging a 15-minute noise protest. What is the Slovak Trade Union Confederation's stand on these protests?

[Korbel] The trade unions are in no way calling into question the constitutional legitimacy of the SNR Presidium's actions in the steps it has taken but are drawing attention to a certain paradox in that these steps arise out of the constitution enacted by the totalitarian regime; a constitution which has, on this occasion, served their political interests. It must be realized that full responsibility for the public protests and any economic consequences is borne by the SNR and the political parties and movements that basically brought this crisis about. The Slovak Trade Union Confederation is willing to coordinate the demand being made by our members for more forceful action. In this connection we are declaring a five-minute protest action at 1200 on 26 April, the precise form of which will be left to the branch organizations to decide. At the same time, of course, we are calling on trade unionists to show level-headedness and respect for democracy and to avoid violence. [passage omitted] Under no circumstances do the trade unions allow economic strikes.

Slovak National Council Session Resumes

LD2604101391 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 0810 GMT 26 Apr 91

[Excerpts] The 13th session of the Slovak National Council resumed today in Bratislava. [passage omitted] Today, the third day of 13th session, is of a working, constructive character. On the proposal of Deputy Anton Andras of the Christian Democratic Movement, supported by Deputy Mikulas Huba of the Green Party, those present first observed a one-minute silence to mark the fifth anniversary of the catastrophe at Chernobyl. They then began to discuss the governmental bill of the Slovak National Council law on Matica Slovenska [Slovak cultural institution]. [passage omitted] The debate on this bill is continuing.

Carnogursky Gives Speech on Slovak Politics

LD2504164791 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1349 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Address by Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky at the Slovak National Council session in Bratislava—live]

[Excerpts] I am not a deputy to the Slovak National Council [SNR], therefore I shall only marginally mention at the end the possible reconstruction of the Presidium. But I would like to express my opinion about what, in fact, is the core of this discussion on possible changes in the SNR Presidium. This core is the struggle of two concepts in this SNR and in Slovak politics, so to speak, about further direction of the development in Slovakia. These two concepts concern national direction and economic and social direction. These two concepts are roughly represented on the one hand by the reconstructed government, and on the other hand, again roughly, they are represented by three parties or associations: the Party of the Democratic Left, the Slovak National Party, and the Platform for Democratic Slovakia. [passage omitted]

What we are proposing is the concept of a state agreement between the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic. This state agreement will be judged and passed by you; not by the Presidium, but by you, the plenum. [passage omitted]

You will decide what powers this state agreement will hand over to the federal bodies. I indeed think that I can afford to say that this concept, standing on a strictly constitutional principle and following a constitutional path, is a better concept than the one offered by the opposition, inasmuch as it insures smooth and stable progress and does not threaten to lead us to international isolation, as does the concept represented by the opposition.

As to the second sphere, the economic and social one, what are the concepts offered by the opposition in this sphere? I do not remember it offering any other complete concept, but even if it had done so, no concept of the current opposition parties has any chance of succeeding. [passage omitted] The government-proposed concept, on the one hand, has a complete theoretically worked-out program for economic reform. It has a more or less complete economic policy on the individual steps, and this concept can rely on the support of and intensive cooperation with foreign countries, naturally the kind approved by the government and you, more or less; in other words, there is no threat of a sell-out of our national interests. [applause] [passage omitted] In conclusion, I should like to mention the composition of the Presidium. Dear deputies, over the last weekend and the days preceding it, almost all the parties, if I remember well, talked with each other. If I can speak on behalf of the Christian Democratic Movement, we talked with all the political parties represented here in the legislature. We talked with you, and we mutually explained our political positions. On the basis of these talks, I must note that political contradictions between the individual parties represented in this legislature are so great and so difficult to fathom that one can only set up one government, namely the one that is sitting before you. [applause]

If you think that it is possible to set up a different government, that the opposition is capable of setting up a government—go ahead and try. But the problem is that if the Presidium, through its composition, corresponded to the relative composition of the SNR, then in view of the constitutional powers of the Presidium, which are being granted to it by the valid Constitution, it would not be possible to set up any government in Slovakia. This is the problem, dear deputies, because the contradictions among you or us are so great that they would preclude setting up a functioning government. Mr. Deputy Weiss,

in the past few days, used the statement that some decision concerning Slovakia have been adopted in Budapest and in Prague. Dear Slovak National Council, if the composition of the Presidium were of the kind that would not allow the setting up of an active government, then anarchy would reign in Slovakia, and decisions concerning Slovakia would be adopted outside its territory. That is why it is important that the SNR presidium is functional if the SNR plenum does not work sufficiently. Forgive me for speaking to you like this, but it is true. [applause]

In conclusion, just one note: In the political discussions in Slovakia, not only in this legislature, public opinion polls are often presented as arguments. Public opinion polls are very useful and provide an altogether complete picture of the current political situation or current political views in Slovakia. In the past, however, we experienced great inconsistencies in the results of public opinion polls.

The coalition of parties has existed ever since the elections, and it is determined to stay until the next election. If we were to set up a new government according to who is heading the public opinion polls, there would be a new government in Slovakia every three to four months. Would that be a feasible situation? That is why I ask that during your decisionmaking and your discussions, you take these facts into account, at least those facts that I have mentioned here, which you yourselves consider valid. Thank you. [applause]

Ivan Carnogursky on SNR Vote on Presidium

LD2504214391 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Slovak 2015 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Studio interview with Ivan Carnogursky, first deputy chairman of the Slovak National Council, by unidentified reporter in Prague on 25 April—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] The Slovak National Council [SNR] session continued into its second day today. Here is a report prepared by our Bratislava editorial team:

Many deputies described today's political debate in the legislature as historic, so what was being decided? At issue was the reconstruction of the SNR Presidium which, in the view of many deputies who spoke today, appears to be a grouping that does not reflect the real political representation of individual parties and movements in the legislature. [passage omitted]

The controversial debate lasted more than 10 hours, and those of you who were watching our live relay on Slovak television—if you were watching Federal television, of course, this does not apply—will know that at about 2045 [1845 GMT] the legislature began to decide whether or not the Presidium is to be reconstructed. The result is as follows: Of the 147 deputies present, 67 voted for reconstruction, 71 voted against, and nine deputies abstained.

Here in the studio is SNR First Deputy Chairman Ivan Carnogursky. Can we try to put this result into context?

[Carnogursky] [passage omitted] As you said earlier, until about 1600, the whole debate seemed to center on criticism of the Presidium. The voting, which reflected very well the current situation in the SNR, confirmed that the Presidium is, indeed, a legitimate body, and that the plenum also considers it a legitimate body. By its vote it thus confirmed, in fact, that the government, which has been amended by the replacement of some of its members, is entirely legitimate, too. Therefore, I think this has finally brought us to the state of affairs we need to be able to work calmly and resolve factually the problems Slovakia is facing.

[Reporter] Do you think that this decision will elicit the reaction you wish to see?

[Carnogursky] Well, for eight hours, aspersions were cast on parliamentary democracy, and reservations were voiced. Now our truly parliamentary democracy has reached a sort of conclusion, and I think that if we were now to begin to cast new doubts on these conclusions, then we would be casting doubt on democracy, casting doubt on our whole raison d'etre. I do not think that would do anything to resolve the problems we are facing.

[Reporter] Thank you for coming into the studio.

Presidium Vote on Meciar, Carnogursky Detailed

AU2504135391

[Editorial Report] Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 24 April on page 16 and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 24 April on pages 1 and 2 publish reports on the outcome of the vote at the 23 April session of the Slovak National Council (SNR) Presidium, which dismissed Prime Minister Meciar and seven other government members from their posts and appointed Jan Carnogursky as new Slovak prime minister.

Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 24 April on page 16 carries the following CTK report: "After the appointment of the new Slovak prime minister, Milan Ftacnik, chairman of the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] Club of Deputies [in the SNR], said: 'A total of 12 members of the SNR Presidium were in favor of recalling Prime Minister Meciar, six were opposed, and two members abstained; of the six who voted against the recall, three were from the Platform for a Democratic Slovakia [ZDS], two from the opposition, and one from the Democratic Party.' Ivan Luptak from the Public Against Violence [VPN]-ZDS platform said that if the platform's political body decides that the ZDS should become part of the opposition, it will be a constructive opposition.

"Member of the SNR Presidium Marian Andel spoke about the outcome of the vote on the new prime minister: 'A total of 14 members were in favor of Jan Carnogursky's appointment, one against, and five abstained.'"

On the same page, LIDOVE NOVINY carries a 200-word CTK report stating that, during the vote on Minister of Privatization Huska, 11 SNR Presidium members were in favor of recalling him, four were against, and five abstained. During the vote on Minister of Foreign Relations Milan Knazko, 12 SNR Presidium members advocated his dismissal, four were against, and four abstained.

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 24 April on pages 1 and 2 carries a 1,300-word Antonie Vymazalova and Stefan Hrcko report on the SNR Presidium session, entitled "Theater of the Absurd on the Slovak Stage." According to the report, individual parties represented in the SNR Presidium voted as follows:

In favor of Meciar's dismissal were all VPN and Hungarian Independent Initiative [MNI] deputies (F. Miklosko, M. Zemko, L. Nagy, M. Kusy, P. Tatar, and V. Sladek); all Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) deputies with the exception of A. Hykisch (I. Carnogursky, J. Klepac, K. Kondasova, F. Javorsky, and V. Kmet); and the representative of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement—Coexistence Alliance (R. Szabo). The following members of the SNR Presidium voted against Meciar's dismissal: M. Secansky, I. Luptak, and R. Zingor from the VPN-ZDS platform; M. Andel from the Slovak National Party (SNS); M. Ftacnik from the SDL; and I. Brndiar from the Democratic Party. A. Hykisch from the KDH and M. Huba from the Green Party abstained. The PRAVDA report quotes SNS deputy Marian Andel as saying that, had the composition of the SNR Presidium reflected the composition of the SNR plenum, the outcome of the vote would have been "completely different, and Prime Minister Meciar would not have been recalled."

Dubcek: Meciar's Recall an 'Erroneous Step'

LD2504175391 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Alexander Dubcek, chairman of the Federal Assembly, in his declaration to his fellow citizens, expressed his views on the culmination of the political crisis in Slovakia.

He said that political life had been stirred up by the decision of the the Slovak National Council Presidium to recall Vladimir Meciar from the office of Slovak prime minister. Alexander Dubcek described the recalling of Vladimir Meciar as an erroneous step. He also pointed out that the Slovak National Council Presidium decision is its constitutional right, and in the same way, the president of the Republic also cannot interfere with the jurisdiction of Slovak bodies. The leadership is in the hands of deputies and the Slovak legislature, Dubcek said.

Concerning people meeting or demonstrating, he expressed a wish that everything take place within the framework of law and democratic behavor so no one abuses the situation against the interest of the Slovak nation, the Czechoslovak federal statehood, or the good name we enjoy in the world.

Parties Comment on Kucerak Dismissal

LD2504181291 Prague CTK in English 1619 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Prague April 25 (CTK)—"The recall of Slovak Deputy Premier Jozef Kucerak indicates that the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) deputies are willing to cooperate with the Public Against Violence (VPN) group led by Fedor Gal but have certain reservations about the economic reform, represented by Kucerak. This fact is alarming," Federal Assembly (parliament) deputy Daniel Kroupa said here today.

Speaking at a press conference of the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA) and the Club of Committed Non-Party People (KAN), Kroupa, who is ODA deputy chairman, said the reconstruction of the Slovak Government is a matter for the Slovak Republic and its political representatives, and praised the fact that the Slovak Government changes were carried out in accordance with the rules of parliamentary democracy.

KAN Central Committee Chairman Bohdan Dvorak briefed journalists on a KAN statement urging the trade unions not to let themelves be drawn into the political struggle. The statement is a response to Friday's proclamation by seven trade unions and the Civic Movement (OH) on their joint stand on the economic reform. The proclamation is an unfair step as none of the trade union signatories has the right to represent millions of workers, Dvorak said.

Deputy Chairman of the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) Petr Cermak, who was also present at the press conference, rejected attempts to create an artificial gap between his party and the ODA. The two parties plan to hold a joint meeting of their leadership in the nearest future, he said.

Christian Democratic Movement on Slovak Reshuffle

LD2504200691 Prague CTK in English 1735 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Bratislava April 25 (CTK)—The Slovak National Council (parliament) acted constitutionally when making changes in the Slovak Government on April 23, as its Presidium has the power to make such changes, First Deputy Chairman of the Slovak parliament Ivan Carnogursky told journalists here today.

Ivan Carnogursky, speaking at a regular Christian Democratic Movement briefing (KDH), was responding to accusations by some Slovak politicians that the presidium acted undemocratically and unethically in dismissing Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar.

Carnogursky said the Presidium recalled Meciar and seven ministers of his government after careful deliberation during which the Presidium said Meciar's proposal for the dismissal of three vice-premiers and two ministers would not solve any of of the problems in view of Meciar's dictatorial ways of exercising his office. The Presidium at the same time excluded the possibility of dismissing Meciar alone. Referring to Meciar, Carnogursky said it was not possible to curry popular favour on the one hand and provoke disputes in the government on the other.

Carnogursky further said the parliamentary opposition is now made up of the Democratic Left Party—SDL (ex-Communist), the Slovak National Party—SNS and the Public Against Violence -For Democratic Slovakia—VPN-ZDS (Meciar's breakaway faction of the VPN). The opposition succeeded yesterday in passing a no confidence vote in Slovak Deputy Premier Jozef Kucerak. Kucerak, whose ideas are close to those of Federal Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus, was dismissed despite an explicit demand by new Slovak Premier Jan Carnogursky and Slovak parliament Chairman Frantisek Miklosko for his retention.

Ivan Carnogursky said the KDH is against such practices and if they continue the movement will leave the government.

KDH Central Secretary Jan Petrik told the news conference: "It is the duty of the KDH to seize the initiative to ensure the Slovak Government functions constructively, although the KDH bears no responsibility for the destablisation of the political situation in Slovakia."

The KDH, which has 31 deputies in the Slovak parliament (20 per cent), has a moral duty to claim the post of Slovak premier, Petrik said.

The KDH decision to put forward Jan Carnogursky as its candidate for the post was carefully considered. The KDH was aware of the fact that the new premier will face the difficult task of leading Slovakia out of its current crisis, Petrik said, expressed the hope that the economic downturn in Slovakia will give way to an upswing. [sentence as received]

Petrik described Carnogursky as a politician who is respected in Europe a guarantee of stability in Slovakia.

Politicians Comment on Slovak Government Reshuffle

AU2504181091 Prague CTK in English 2113 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Text] Bratislava/Prague April 23 (CTK)—Slovak Democratic Left Party Chairman Peter Weiss commented today on the Slovak Government reshuffle earlier in the day that "the policies of Prague and Budapest have triumphed for the time being but now it will be Bratislava's turn".

In the government reshuffle, Deputy Premier and Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) Chairman Jan Carnogursky replaced Premier Vladimir Meciar, and seven other members of the regional Slovak Government were dismissed.

Chairman of the nationalist Slovak National Party Jozef Prokes told CTK that "if the government had really not been functioning properly, it should have been dismissed as a whole."

Milan Knazko, the dismissed minister for external relations and a member of Meciar's faction VPN For Democratic Slovakia, said: "Mr. Miklosko (Slovak parliament chairman) and the others are the same as their predecessors before 1989 and I am afraid they will end up the same way. I only hope that it would not take another 40 years."

Chairman of the House of Nations of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (parliament) Milan Sutovec said he hoped the new premier would form a compact government that will win due support in the Slovak parliament, and that in the future matters concerning the Slovak Government and Slovak political life will be settled in a democratic way.

Chairwoman of the Czech National Council (parliament) Dagmar Buresova said the situation in Slovakia had reached a point when the Slovak parliament had to make a decision. About Jan Carnogursky Buresova said he is a very cultivated and sensible politician and talks with him, as a partner of the Czech premier, could be fruitful.

Czech Premier Petr Pithart described the reshuffle as a promising change which makes it likely that the two republics will again seek one economy and pursue one reform and will finally settle the question of the state setup.

Civic Democratic Party (ODS) Chairman and Finance Minister Klaus observed that the Public Against Violence (VPN) movement lost the seat of premier long ago, adding he hoped that the appointment of the new premier will stabilize political life in Slovakia.

Asked whether the replacing of a VPN representative by a KDH member might have an effect on Czechoslovakia's political relations with other countries, Federal Foreign Ministry Spokesman Egon Lansky said "if it has any effect we hope it is a positive one".

The ministry hoped the government changes would contribute towards a speedy settlement of Slovakia's urgent economic and social problems, said Lansky.

[Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 24 April on page 3 in a similar report adds: "In response to a

question regarding former Slovak International Relations Minister Milan Knazko, Lansky said that 'Mr. Knazko did everything he could to achieve the maximum in the interest of that what he believed would benefit the Slovak nation. The Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs did everything it could to minimize the differences between the views of Mr. Knazko and those of the ministry'."]

Press Response to Slovak Government Reshuffle

AU2504180791 Prague CTK in English 0701 GMT 24 Apr 91

[Excerpts] Prague April 24 (CTK)—The independent Czechoslovak daily LIDOVE NOVINY writes on the dismissal of Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar that the Slovak parliament Presidium concluded that a politician who permanently creates tension and sees problems and enemies even there where there are none harms Slovakia's interests. The premier's dismissal and the reshuffle of the Slovak Government does not eliminate disputes over the shape of the economic reform and the federation but provides scope for a constructive settlement of possible disputes. The daily further writes about the current struggle in Slovakia between those who see the future of Slovakia and Czechoslovakia in a democratic coexistence of people with different views and those who "can do" without democracy and to whom democracy is quite alien.

The independent Czech daily MLADA FRONTA DNES says that the absence of Vladimir Meciar and other ministers from the VPN For Democratic Slovakia faction at the Slovak parliament Presidium session which decided about their dismissal could mean "a declaration of war". "In the dramatic circumstances Jan Carnogursky was the only person who could sit on the hot seat. As a politician he undoubtedly realizes the risk he takes upon himself. The opposition, represented by Meciar, will be stronger than the government". The paper says that a stormy reaction of the Slovaks to the dismissal of their popular politician is not excluded and if the newly elected premier does not act with prudence he might not survive the expected crisis of the federation. [passage omitted]

Bratislava the Slovak independent daily NARODNA OBRODA says yesterday's shake-up in the Slovak Government was the climax of a campaign waged against former Premier Vladimir Meciar. This will not be good for Jan Carnogursky, Meciar's successor as he takes over the post. "Meciar has earned the sympathy of the public because he acted as a politician with a clear concept. Similar straightforwardness and frankness in relation to people can strengthen Carnogursky's authority. He should make more clear his political concept based on the universal values of Christian humanism," the paper says. In an interview granted to the paper, Carnogursky says the Slovak Government's main task is to secure calm in Slovakia so that it will be also deemed a reliable and stable partner abroad.

The daily of the Public Against Violence movement (VPN) VEREJNOST ponders over the reasons why Carnogursky and the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) which he leads put their head in the noose of people's dissatisfaction with the economy, on the brink of an abyss. "Anyone who would do this only for the feeling of political victory and ecstasy over wielding power only would have to be suicidal, which the new premier probably is not. Therefore, we cannot but believe his words that he did so for the benefit of Slovakia," the paper says.

The daily of the democratic party CAS says the democrats have always linked Slovakia's destiny with the Czechoslovak federation, a rapid and effective economic reform combined with effective social programs, and the removal from decisive posts of those linked with the former (communist) regime. Now the Democratic Party will again choose its partners not on the basis of time-serving criteria, but of firm principles. The Democratic Party is a partner in the Slovak Government coalition.

The independent leftist daily PRAVDA carries an article by Miroslav Janek, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party in Slovakia, who says that the Presidium of the Slovak National Council (parliament), whose composition does not reflect the composition of the Slovak parliament, spent days and nights searching for the guilt of the premier and those in the government who supported him. It is paradoxical that more criticism about the state of the economy is directed at former Premier Meciar than to the deputy premier responsible for the economic reform, Janek says. [passage omitted]

Gal on VPN Crisis, Embezzlement Charges

AU2504153891 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Apr 91 p 3

[Frantisek Melis report: "Appealing For Consensus"]

[Text] Bratislava—"The resolution adopted last week by the Slovak National Council Presidium has confirmed the point of view adopted by the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement Slovak Council," said VPN Chairman Fedor Gal at the beginning of yesterday's press briefing in the movement's Coordinating Center.

He had in mind, first and foremost, the fact that some changes in the Slovak Republic Government are inevitable from the point of view of its ability to function and that we have no right to abandon the aims of economic reform, because this would turn the other outlined aims into a pipe dream. He said that on Saturday [20 April] talks were held with Rudolf Filkus and Jozef Olejar, representatives of the VPN-For a Democratic Slovakia [ZDS] platform. Alexander Dubcek also participated in them as one of the representatives with an unbiased view of events within the VPN. One result of these talks was that the rules for the continued coexistence of both the movement's wings will be determined at the extraordinary VPN assembly in Kosice on 27 April. "At this moment, it is clear to us," stressed Fedor Gal, "that it is necessary to find mechanisms guaranteeing

cooperation in our deputies' clubs and among government members when resolving matter-of-fact problems. We would like the VPN-ZDS platform to acquire legitimacy at this assembly as a prerequisite for our future peaceful cooperation."

Fedor Gal then spoke about the hearing at the Municipal Prosecutor's Office in Bratislava in connection with the investigation of the complaint against him. According to him, yesterday's article in PRAVDA presents the circumstances of his case almost correctly. Part of the background to this case is the fact that, after the VPN had experienced the euphoria of the first elections, people appeared who stole documents from the economic department and from the VPN's political archives. Now these papers have been used. "I have refuted all the accusations," stated the VPN Slovak Council chairman, and he added that he has submitted documents in support of his defense. He described the accusations as an attempt to incriminate him and to politically discriminate against him. "How is it possible that all of this was formulated in the office of the Slovak prime minister?," was Fedor Gal's rhetorical question. He emphasized that he rejects incriminating people for their political views, unfair moves in political struggles, and violations of the law. Regarding the statement made by Jan Carnogursky about his possibly taking over the post of prime minister, Fedor Gal described it as pure poetry and said that part of the movement's power has been deposited in the hands of the Christian Democratic Movement by the establishment of the VPN-ZDS platform.

SNS Gives Condition for Joining Coalition

AU2504144691

[Editorial Report] Bratislava SMENA in Slovak on 23 April on pages 1 and 2 carries an 800-word interview with Anton Hrnko, deputy to the Slovak National Council (SNR) for the Slovak National Party (SNS), by Svetlana Kolesarova. The interview was conducted on 22 April, the place is not given. Bratislava SMENA in Slovak on 24 April on page 2 carries a 450-word Dusan Petrak report on a news conference given by "leading SNS representatives" in Bratislava on 23 April. Both items concern, among other things, the possibility of the SNS joining the Slovak Government coalition.

In the 23 April Bratislava SMENA interview, Kolesarova questions Hrnko on an SNS delegation's meeting with SNR Chairman Miklosko the day before. Hrnko says that, during their meeting with Miklosko, the SNS representatives advocated reconstruction of the Slovak Government because "individual ministers do not lead their departments satisfactorily." The SNS believes, however, that reconstruction of the government should be preceded by reconstruction of the SNR Presidium "so its composition reflects the distribution of political forces in the legislature." They also "expressed doubts" as to whether "any Slovak government, whatever its composition, can do anything about the economic situation in Slovakia, in view of its not having in its hands the basic powers."

Asked whether the SNS would be willing to join the Slovak Government, Hrnko answers only indirectly: "It is possible that we might take a greater part in the management of the fate of Slovakia than is the role of the opposition." The condition for the "readiness of the SNS to participate more broadly in political work in Slovakia," would, however, be that "the sovereignty of Slovakia is declared so the government gets the powers it needs to be able to actually govern." According to Hrnko, the declaration of Slovak sovereignty should be issued after the formation of a new SNR Presidium.

According to the SMENA report on the SNS representatives' 23 April news conference, "SNS Deputy Chairman Viliam Sojka said that, during the Monday [22 April] talks [with SNR Chairman Miklosko], the SNS was offered participation in the Slovak Government, which, however, the SNS rejected for reasons of principle. Above all, it insists on the opposite sequence of reconstructions, with the SNR Presidium being reconstructed first and the government later." Sojka added that "the SNS is not afraid of responsibility. Should the SNR Presidium entrust the SNS with the formation of a new government, it would be a government composed of representatives of all nationally oriented parties that participated in legislative elections." Sojka also told the news conference that the "SNS is not interested in early legislative elections" but wants to "contribute the maximum to the stabilization" of the situation.

Citizens Fear Influx of Foreign Capital

AU2604094791 Prague CTK in English 1315 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Text] Prague April 23 (CTK)—People in Czechoslovakia are fearful of an influx of foreign capital into their country's economy.

This was one of the results of a survey of 1,032 Czechoslovak citizens conducted from March 25 to April 3 by the Prague-based Institute for Public Opinion Research and announced at a press conference here today.

Asked whether foreign entrepreneurs are considering investing in Czechoslovakia in order to help it enter the ranks of the economically advanced countries, 46 percent of those surveyed said no. An almost equal number of respondents, 45 percent, said that was the main motive for foreign investment and nine percent had no opinion.

On the question of the motivation of potential foreign investors, 94 percent of respondents said foreign firms are interested in investing in Czechoslovakia because they have available capital which they want to invest to make a profit. The overwhelming majority of people 93 percent believed that foreign companies are motivated by the opportunity to exploit Czechoslovakia as a source

of cheap labor. An equal percentage of those polled were convinced that entrepreneurs from abroad want above all to make money. Eighty percent of the respondents expressed fear that foreign firms might exploit the inexperience of the Czechoslovak population.

In the same period as the survey on foreign investment, the institute canvassed opinion on the Czechoslovak state setup. The results showed that a common state for Czechs and Slovaks is still the dominant choice and that the preferred setup for this state is either a federation or a single state with a single government, with 31 percent of respondents supporting the former and 30 percent the latter. The proportion of the population favoring a federated state made up of three or more parts dropped from 25 percent in February to 18 percent at the end of March.

The use of a referendum to decide whether the Czech Republic (population ten million) and the Slovak Republic (population five million) should remain together in a federation was supported by 86 percent of the respondents in the Czech Republic and 62 percent of the population in Slovakia. People in the Czech Republic were inclined to believe a breakup of the federation would weaken the international and economic standing of the national republics, while one-fourth of the respondents in Slovakia said their republic would be better off.

Federal Assembly Chambers Determine Agendas

LD2504225691 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1800 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Excerpt] The Presidia of the Chamber of People and Chamber of Nations of the Federal Assembly held a session in Prague today at which they discussed the preparation of separate sessions of the chambers and their next joint session as well as their agenda.

The Presidium of the Chamber of Nations decided to convene its eighth separate session for 14 May to discuss various personnel and organizational questions.

The Presidium of the Chamber of People decided to convene the adjourned fourth separate session for 14 May to conclude the deliberations of the session's agenda which includes personnel and organizational questions.

The two presidia decided to convene the 15th joint session of the Chamber of People and Chamber of Nations for 14-17 May and for 21-24 May with a very extensive agenda. [passage omitted]

Cabinet Session on CEMA, Environment

LD2504214491 Prague CTK in English 1916 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Prague April 25 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Federal Cabinet said today Czechoslovakia will push for an early signature of documents on the abolition of COMECON (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance). In a communique from its session the Cabinet said that Czechoslovakia will support the stand of other European COMECON members that propose that the new forum for multilateral cooperation which may replace it be a European regional structure open to the participation of other European and non-European states.

The Cabinet discussed further steps to be taken by Czechoslovakia in the talks on a treaty on good neighbourly relations and friendly cooperation with Germany. The communique describes the treaty's aims as the creation of a framework for all-round cooperation with Germany. To achieve this aim, it is necessary to settle once and for all the problems arising from the painful chapters of the two countries' common history, including property questions, the communique said.

According to the communique, Czechoslovakia seeks to anchor the continuity of the 1918 Czechoslovak-German border under international law. Regarding property claims by the Sudeten Germans, the Cabinet reiterated its position that possible revisions of Czechoslovak legislation will not apply to the period before February 25, 1948.

The Cabinet directed Foreign Trade Minister Jozef Baksay to start talks with his German counterpart on the consequences of the unification of Germany on mutual trade.

In Germany, several major investors, the largest being Volkswagen AG, are prepared to invest 1,420 million Deutsche Marks in the Czechoslovak economy immediately, the communique noted. Responding to a request by the German side, the Czechoslovak Government today agreed to implement the agreement with Germany on the support and mutual protection of investments before its ratification which is not expected until September. "The government's concept stems from the interest in the immediate entry of German capital and German investments into the Czechoslovak economy," The communique said and announced that the German side would be officially advised of the decision after it has been endorsed by the Czechoslovak president and the Federal Assembly Presidium.

The Federal Cabinet took note of a report on the environment in Czechoslovakia which it is going to present to parliament. The report calls environmental legislation in Czechoslovakia unsatisfactory. It says that on the whole there was no major improvement in the environment in Czechoslovakia during 1990 and at the beginning of 1991. Only a slight drop in solid emissions can be expected in some big plants but the level of emissions of sulphur and nitrogen oxides, water quality, soil erosion, waste disposal and the protection of nature all remain critical issues.

Amendments to existing legislation are being prepared to streamline the complex but inefficient regulations. A comprehensive draft of tax and other reliefs intended as

the backbone of the economic basis for environmental protection is to be submitted to the government in mid-May. The government acknowledged the assistance the European Community, Switzerland and the World Bank have provided to Czechoslovakia as it tackles its environmental problems.

The Cabinet rejected allegations in the press of disunity among government members over economic reform policy. According to the communique "the government members reached the view that there are no major differences between their views on these issues".

The federal government allocated 9.3 million crowns from the state budget to finance the integration of Czech repatriates from areas of the Ukraine affected by the 1986 nuclear accident at Chernobyl. The government directed its commissioner for repatriates to continue intensive talks with the Ukrainian and Soviet authorities in an effort to repatriate all ethnic Czechs from the threatened regions.

No Soviet Reply Received on Nuclear Arms Storage

LD2504165291 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] The Ministry of Defense no longer has authoritative information on how long the Soviets stored nuclear warheads in Hungary and when they were removed. The spokesman for the ministry has said that the ministry asked the Soviet chief-of-staff for information about the matter, but so far no reply has been recieved.

Gyorgy Keleti also stated that at the installations taken over after the withdrawal of Soviet troops no radiation pollution was found anywhere.

Goncz Interviewed on Politics, Policies

AU2604073391 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 23 Apr 91 p 5

["Excerpts" from radio interview with President Arpad Goncz by reporters, moderated by Istvan Vizinger on 21 April; place not given: "The National Security Bill Will Soon Be Presented to the National Assembly—Arpad Goncz Answered Radio Listeners' Questions"—first paragraph is MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Text] During the morning hours of Sunday [21 April], President Arpad Goncz answered radio listeners' questions in a Kossuth Radio program entitled "At the Microphone: The President of the Republic." The following is a selection of thought-provoking questions and answers that were not actually broadcast during the program.

[Vizinger] Gyula Laszlo, Budapest: The political passivity in this country is stupefying. Who will representatives represent if they are elected by so few people?

[Goncz] I do not feel that people have become politically passive. Without a doubt—and this is something that we should all stop and think about—people have become markedly less interested in legislative activities, there is even a certain amount of disillusionment, but that does not automatically imply that there is political passivity. Various kinds of independent social organizations are an indication of this, and I consider these initiatives to be important and dynamic political activities.

[Vizinger] A veteran: Nowadays, compensation is being claimed from many different directions. President Goncz, among those claiming compensation, where would you place the relatives of fallen heroes and front-line soldiers?

[Goncz] I would place them among those who have the greatest right to receive compensation.

[Vizinger] Mrs. Lajos Toth, Budapest: I would like to make a suggestion: Those who vote in favor of the World Exhibition should personally be financially responsible for the success of the Exhibition.

[Goncz] In relation to the World Exhibition, I would like to express my only wish: Whatever decision is reached, be it yes or no, regardless of personal opinions, we should accept the decision as it is, and we should see the whole thing through without grimacing, arguing, or making observations. We can polemicize until the decision is reached, but after that we have to be united. Indeed, one thing is certain: A half-baked solution of any kind is the worst possible solution.

[Vizinger] An anonymous listener: President Goncz! Among those citizens who have no criminal record, whose telephones are actually being tapped in these changed political circumstances? When will a law be passed on the use of secret devices? When could such a law be enforced?

[Goncz] The National Assembly will soon be discussing the national security bill, and hopefully, it will soon pass this bill, which will settle this issue in a reassuring way for all of us.

[Vizinger] Etele Rakoczi, Budapest: There seems to be great chaos surrounding our self-governing bodies. The government is led by a Hungarian Democratic Forum majority, whereas the self-governing bodies are mainly led by the Alliance of Free Democrats. How could this problem be solved?

[Goncz] It can only be solved through cooperation. It can only be solved if all those who deal with politics understand that it is the electorate's interests—and not party interests—that have to be borne in mind; those are the interests that should be presented and defended.

[Vizinger] Mrs. Laszlo Kovacs, Budapest: Hungary does not have a major trade union movement. What could be done to solve this problem?

[Goncz] I am not sure that the honorable listener is right. As far as I know, there are three significant trade unions at the moment, and, once again, the road to the future should be based on harmonious cooperation.

[Vizinger] An anonymous listener: What could you tell us about the legal protection of the rights of Transylvanian refugees who have fled to Hungary?

[Goncz] The people who have arrived from Transylvania are covered by current Hungarian laws. Thus, they enjoy the same rights as Hungarian citizens—employment, social security, education, and so on. On certain conditions, they can also be issued with passports, travel documents, and temporary identity cards.

[Vizinger] Imre Pap, Egyed: Are naturalization applications filed according to order of importance? Many people who arrived in Hungary after we have been granted Hungarian citizenship, but I, as a pharmacist, have not been naturalized yet.

[Goncz] Anybody who has submitted such an application probably has important personal reasons for wanting to obtain Hungarian citizenship, and we try to

respect these individual interests; therefore, there is no order of importance in the handling of these applications. It has to be mentioned that, when applying for Hungarian citizenship, it is an advantage if you wish to settle in Hungary and if your direct ancestors had Hungarian citizenship; if some other special circumstances justify your naturalization; if you are legally married to a Hungarian citizens; if your child has already been granted Hungarian citizenship; or if a Hungarian citizen wishes to adopt you. The chances of favorable handling of your application are also increased if you are stateless, if your foreign citizenship has already been taken away or if you have renounced it, or if you have asked to be relieved of your foreign citizenship. Naturalization applications are filed by our embassies, city councils, and local self-governing bodies, and they are subsequently passed on to the Interior Ministry. That might be why applications reach the Interior Ministry at different times, and it accounts for some chronological differences. I would ask for your kind patience.

[Vizinger] A university lecturer: Our youth is in a difficult situation. What should we do, or what could we do to improve the situation?

[Goncz] Our youth is in a difficult situation, but unfortunately, old people and middle-aged people are in a similarly difficult situation. Painful this may seem, however, every generation and practically every social stratum has its own big problem, waiting for a solution. These problems are linked to each other, they even influence each other, and they mutually increase the seriousness of each other's consequences. At the moment, the most we can and should do is to value solidarity between people—concern, understanding, assistance, goodwill, and patience—until a fundamental change comes about in our economic situation.

[Vizinger] A student: Culture has become money, book publishers are struggling with difficulties, theaters are struggling, and our movie production has practically come to a standstill. How can it be that a country does not have the money to financially support its intellectual assets?

[Goncz] Social and individual patronage, and new forms of cultural support have to be developed. It has to be said that this is not an easy task, and that results cannot be achieved quickly, but it really is a task of primary importance. At the moment, we are struggling with all the difficulties of an interim period, when the old system no longer works, and when the new one has not yet started to function....

[Vizinger] Jozsef Gonda, Budapest: In the past, Hungarians were blasted with Soviet culture; now, they are trying to force Anglo-Saxon culture on us. What should we really be doing?

[Goncz] Naturally, we should never abandon general culture, regardless of any political or ideological preferences or prejudices, but at the same time, we have to defend our own culture. We owe this to ourselves and to the world, because our culture is also an inherent part of the cultural treasure of humankind.

Labor Minister Kiss on Prague Conference

LD2504103191

[Editorial Report] Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 1630 GMT on 24 April carries a 15-minute live or recorded interview, the date of which is not given, with Labor Minister Gyula Kiss by an unidentified reporter in the studio in the aftermath of the Prague international conference on unemployment. Kiss begins by saying that labor ministers from about 30 countries attended the conference. Speaking about the possibility of mass migrations of population across Europe, Minister Kiss says: "Personally, I am convinced that migration will take place, whether we like it or not. One of its elements is the problem in the Soviet Union, that within a foreseeable time Soviet citizens will obtain passports, which will be world passports, so they can leave the country if they wish. This by itself could cover a very large number. There are estimates that in the near future 20 million people are planning to leave the Soviet Union with their passports. I must stress that these are estimates."

The rising unemployment problems in Eastern Europe, in the view of the minister, can be counteracted to some extent by protecting the labor market from foreign labor by the introduction of work permits. A practice well established in the West, this could further increase the problems of Hungary with migrant labor. "I fear that Hungary will not only be a transit station in this flood, but very often a halfway station. We must not forget that in my view, migration has three kinds of motives. First, those who leave the country as political refugees, this is the smallest number. The greater motive is the economic one. For us Hungarians, a special question is the number of those leaving for ethnic reasons or arriving into our country for such reasons."

The minister says there are well-recognized conventions about political refugees and at the Prague conference there was a common view that emigration for economic reasons should not be supported, and some method must be found to put a break on this, such as, for example, work permits having to be obtained before leaving a country. "This is a complex question and not only a question of employment but a joint government question which must be considered in terms of foreign policy, economic policy, employment policy, and a number of other areas."

To the suggestion that if the Hungarian Government discriminates between ethnic Magyars among the Yugoslav, Czechoslovak, or Romanian citizens this might create problems, as could the fact that even despite the sympathy for ethnic Magyar refugees from neighboring countries resentment might build up against them in the already tight Hungarian job market, Kiss says: "The issue is totally contradictory, but it is a fact. On the one hand, the labor market must be protected, while on the

other. I think still that we nonetheless cannot categorically treat these refugees who are fleeing for technical reasons as foreigners from that point of view that should be dictated by the defense of the labor market."

Asked whether Western countries offered some extra help if only to prevent the refugee flood threatening their job markets and to make it stop in Poland, the CSFR, or Hungary, Kiss says that it was very interesting to note how differently West Europeans have addressed the issue. "I would emphasize that there were one or two West European countries which did not even send representatives of ministerial rank. In other words—and I am naturally expressing my own personal view here—a kind of tactical maneuvering here suggests to me that there are a few who think that the East European countries—the Poland-Hungary-CSFR block demarcation line—will solve this issue. I am certain that we will not be able to. So, the kind of West European approach, involvement through professional advice, will be insufficient. A much more serious, much harder approach is needed from Western Europe too."

Talking about the specific results of the meeting, the labor minister says that agreement was reached on a Hungarian proposal, according to which, "the possibility of free flow of information and data exchange has to be established as soon as possible" because, simply, the governments will only be in a position to make a decision on the matter if they possess correct and precise information and if strategy is worked out accordingly. Estimating the expected numbers of economic refugees and the direction of the migration is paramount. In his view, "to believe that the direction of this migration can be clearly determined as being from East to West is a great mistake." The question is far more complicated than this, and Kiss is "convinced that target countries will develop within Eastern Europe too, and Hungary has already become one such potential target country."

Regading specific ideas within the Ministry of Labor to manage this problem, "a bill is already under preparation in the ministry. It will deal with the question from a political point of view, when the situation arises, and the basic concept of this future law will be that an application for a work permit will only be considered if it is submitted in the mother country."

In reply to a question about whether Hungary will contemplate strengthening its border, similar to Austria, when, for example, the Soviets are grant world passports next year, Kiss replies that "it is not the responsibility of the Ministry of Labor to ensure the protection of its green border."

Unemployment Doubles Since Last December

AU2604092391 Budapest MTI in English 0639 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Budapest, 25 Apr (MTI)—The number of the unemployed has doubled in Hungary since last December, with manpower agencies registering 145,193 unemployed, it was announced at a press briefing held in the Hungarian Ministry of Labour on Wednesday.

At the beginning of 1990, there were only 20,000 unemployed people in Hungary but their number has grown to 80,000 by the end of the year. According to data, the process has speeded up in the first quarter of 1991.

At the end of March, there were only 13,583 vacant jobs registered, meaning that manpower agencies could offer a job for every 11th applicant.

The number of those entitled to receive unemployment benefit or allowance reached 116,387 at the end of March, nearly seven times as many as a year earlier.

The unemployment rate, showing the percentage of registered unemployed within the working population, was 3 per cent in March. There are, however, considerable differences between the parts of the country, with the worst indexes in Szabolcs-Szatmar-Bereg county (E. Hungary). The most stable conditions are in Budapest, where the unemployment rate is 0.5 per cent, i.e. every second applicant can be offered a job.

At present, there are 30,000 foreign citizens employed in Hungary. At the same time, Germany expects 1,000 German-speaking Hungarian skilled workers this year and there are also wide-ranging possibilities for seasonal work.

Details of Soviet Army Pullout Reported

LD2504185891 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1730 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] There is no treaty, but the [Soviet] Army is pulling out. Since 15 April, three transports have already left Legnica; this time not to Swidnica but to Smolensk for good. They are traveling through Wroclaw, Warsaw, and Brzesc. About 100 soldiers and officers are transporting a considerable amount of equipment. The headquarters of the northern group of the Soviet Armed Forces has ordered two 120-axle trains for April in the Lower Silesian District Directorate of State Railways. The railmen assure that they can provide any number of trains for this particular purpose.

Political Figures Skeptical of Election Coalition

AU2504153691 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 23 Apr 91 pp 1, 2

[Report by Malgorzata Subotic and Kazimierz Groblewski: "A 'Broad Coalition' Is Unlikely"]

[Text] At the latest conference of citizens' committees, Jan Olszewski suggested forming a broad election coalition of those democratic yet anticommunist forces that favor the reforms. He viewed a consolidation of postcommunist forces and the nomenklatura as the greatest danger to the reforms. His suggestion was conveyed to the reformist groups that also perceive this danger and wish to counteract it. We asked representatives of selected organizations what they thought of Jan Olszewski's suggestion and whether a broad coalition was possible before the elections.

Jacek Maziarski, chairman of Center Accord: "The Center Accord wants a broad but strong coalition. One need only look at the Citizens' Parliamentary Club to see what a broad coalition can do. It is easy to gather representatives of various parties, but not so easy to make an efficient deputies club out of them. A club formed out of such a broad coalition would quickly disintegrate into factions of deputies. It would hardly be a stabilizing factor in Polish politics.

"We addressed our offer of a centrist coalition only to "Solidarity" and citizens' committee activists. It is not true that they rejected it. Following the last conference, over 40 percent of citizens' committees have contacted us.

"When Jan Olszewski presented his suggestion of a broad coalition, he was only speaking for himself, perhaps also for the National Citizens' Committee, but certainly not for the Center Accord. How would one possibly establish a joint program with, say, the Christian National Union, whose views on economic concepts and Poland's foreign alliances diverge from ours?

"So the Center Accord is opposed to this idea and will not enter such a coalition."

Slawomir Rogucki, "Solidarity" National Commission press spokesman: "'Solidarity' will make a decision on election coalitions at the beginning of May. In the meantime, the Commission has appointed a team to examine this proposal. However, I doubt whether the broad coalition suggested by Jan Olszewski will come about. We have certain reservations about the idea. What we mainly want is the presence of union representatives in the Sejm, people who will really defend the interests of workers. However, we cannot ignore the general situation in Poland—the danger of a resurrection of postcommunist influence. Regional alliances will be the most important. We envisage a great variety thereof."

Wojciech Obernikowicz, deputy chairman of the Polish Peasant Party: "The farmers suffered a blow in previous election coalitions. The Citizens' Parliamentary Club was supposed to look after their interests, but it never did.

"The broad coalition suggested by Jan Olszewski would not fulfill this function. Calls for the formation of a civic society might have been a good idea in the past, but not any more. Today a broad coalition would erase the differences between individual groups, and they would no longer be able to speak out independently.

"For instance, how could such a coalition represent the interests of producers and consumers at the same time? The general points of the programs of all the groups meant to join this coalition are similar, but when it comes to details, there are differences. It is these differences that will give flavor to the election campaign.

"Going to the elections together with the 'watered down' citizens' committees would not bring us many advantages. The Center Accord is in even a worse situation, because it consists of many elements. Therefore I am skeptical about the idea of a broad coalition."

Impact of Bujak's ROAD Departure Viewed

AU2504153791 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 23 Apr 91 p 2

['EO'-signed report: "Business As Usual"]

[Text] "Zbigniew Bujak's departure from the Citizens Movement-Democratic Action [ROAD] has not come as a surprise to us," said Roman Traczyk, member of ROAD's Supreme Council. "The last attempt at mediation was made in March and, as can be seen, was unsuccessful. Of course, we regret what has happened. After all, Bujak was a founder member of the movement, and he is still very popular with "Solidarity" members and in large industrial enterprises. We were hoping to reach a compromise solution," continued Traczyk.

After last Saturday's [20 April] decision to disband the ROAD Deputies Club, ZYCIE WARSZAWY approached a ROAD member who is a known supporter of a ROAD-Democratic Union merger to give us his explanation of Bujak's possible motives for leaving. Roman Traczyk

believes that Bujak's departure is not a question of irreconcilable differences between the ROAD Deputies Club and the rest of the ROAD organization.

It appears that Bujak was opposed to the merger for personal reasons, and in the past he had expressed his concern about some of the people who were joining the Union; for example, members of the Forum of the Democratic Right [FPD]. According to Traczyk, it was possible to iron out program differences to everyone's satisfaction, despite the fact that there are several distinct political orientations represented within the Union. In fact, the FPD is now shifting its political position, moving away from the principle of a strong presidency and opting for a parliamentary model of the state.

According to Traczyk, Bujak's departure—and the departure of some of Bujak supporters—will not trigger ROAD's disintegration. Over 80 percent of delegates remain committed to the ROAD movement.

Army Official Remarks on Technology Restrictions

LD2504092591 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 24 Apr 91

[Text] The Polish Army has virtually had its access to the most advanced technology cut off. The Soviet Union is not able to supply all the necessary spare parts. Following the collapse of the GDR, German partners have withdrawn from cooperation, leaving us with the hull of warships already built but without any fittings. This information was given at a special news conference by the heads of the technological services of the Polish Army. General Jerzy (Lewicowicz), the head of research and military technological development, is talking about the import restrictions in force:

[(Lewicowicz)] Insofar as Poland, and likewise Czechoslovakia and Hungary, have acquired a more than an 85-percent reduction to the COCOM [Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls] restrictions, all countries continue to stipulate that these technologies not be applied in the military spheres. This virtually incapacitates the given country. The United States, as a result of our explicit request, has promised us that in each specific case our requests would be examined with a large possibility of mitigating the ban and order that are generally in force.

Public Confidence in Institutions Increases

LD2504213191 Warsaw PAP in English 1056 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Warsaw, April 25—74 per cent of respondents to the public opinion research centre at the Polish Radio and TV declared their confidence in the Army on April 8 and 9 (69 per cent in March). 69 per cent expressed their confidence in the Roman Catholic Church (71 per cent in March) and 64 per cent - in the police (58 per cent in March).

59 per cent of the respondents, by 5 per cent more than in March, declared their confidence in the president.

The percentage of the polled voicing their confidence in the government rose from 51 to 56 in April as compared with March.

Like in March, 38 per cent of the respondents declared their confidence in Solidarity.

37 per cent of respondents expressed their confidence in the Senate (40 per cent in March) and 34 per cent - in the Sejm (38 per cent in March). Like in March, every fifth respondent (22 per cent), expressed confidence in the trade unions affiliated in the All-Poland Trade Union Alliance.

According to 43 per cent of the respondents, the situation in Poland develops in a good direction (36 per cent in March). According to 29 per cent, on the contrary, the situation goes in a bad direction (37 per cent in March) and the remaining 28 per cent did not have their own opinion on this question.

Government To 'Further Subsidize' Manufacturers

AU2604103991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0936 GMT 26 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 26/4/1991—The Romanian minister of trade and tourism, Constantin Fota, announced, at a meeting with state and private economic agents new regulations governing the foreign trade activities.

Due to the generalisation of hard currency commercial exchanges, the government has decided to further subsidize manufacturers that fell behind their contracted deliveries to former socialist COMECON countries, to cover the difference between manufacturing costs and the delivery price as stipulated in the old contracts.

The subsidies will be earmarked from the over 3 billion lei first quarter 1991 custom revenues.

In the relation with the USSR, when neither of the two contract partners holds the necessary convertible currency, a special banking system was created in the form of a 125 million dollars technical credit for exchanges involving no physical currency transfer, by virtue of which economic agents can fulfill their contracts.

A third way is the acceptance of compensation operations in the relations with the said countries. This exempts the exporter from transferring the 50 pct quota of its external revenues to the state reserves, as the law on exports for convertible currency revenues currently stipulates. Compensatory operations permitted are: complementary imports by payment of resulting products; imports of equipment and component parts for the machine-building industry on barter for similar products and exchange of parts as provided for by governmental agreements.

Pop Addresses GATT Meeting, Meets Officials

AU2504182591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1545 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 25/4/1991—At the April ordinary session of the GATT Council, in Geneva, Secretary of State Napoleon Pop, head of the Foreign Trade Department, made an expose on the progress of the economic reform in Romania, an item distinctly entered on the Council's agenda. The speaker elaborated on the major aims of privatisation, foreign investments, price and salary liberalization, the reform of the financial and fiscal systems, with a particular stress on Romania's new commercial policy, which is being restructured and developed in consonance with the GATT principles and regulations.

At the special session of the GATT Council, which evaluated the trends in the international commercial system, the head of the Romanian Foreign Trade Department upheld, in tune with the majority of the delegations present, the necessity of strengthening and improving the multilateral trade system, especially through the finalization as soon as possible of the Uruguay round.

Mr. Napoleon Pop had successive talks with the GATT Director General Arthur Dunkel, the UNCTAD Secretary General Kenneth Dadzie and the Executive Director of the International Trade Centre Goran Engblom.

On these occasions, the sides expressed appreciations on the growth of the economic cooperation between Romania and these international institutions, considering the deep changes underway in Romania, and reviewed the positive results of the technical assistance granted to Romania so far and the prospects to extend them.

Senator on Situation of Hungarian Minorities

AU2504125991 Budapest MTI in English 1512 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Text] Budapest, 23 Apr (MTI)—The nationalistic, chauvinist pressure on Romania's Hungarian minority has been lessening in recent months, with the extremist political forces also losing their support among the masses, said Senator Karoly Kiraly, deputy speaker of the Romanian Parliament.

Headed by Kiraly, a three-member delegation from the Democratic Federation of Romanian Hungarians (DFRH) [RMDSZ] extended the Tuesday session of Parliament's Committee on Human Rights and Minority and Religious Affairs, at the invitation of the parliamentary group of the Alliance of Free Democrats.

Karoly Kiraly pointed out that thanks to the maturity of Romanian society and the sober-minded policy of the Democratic Federation of Romanian Hungarians, the Tirgu Mures atrocities of last March had been followed by no similar occurrences, and Romanian-Hungarian relations had got no worse. On the other hand, he stated that anti-minority feelings had once more come to the surface during the current debate over the Romanian constitution.

With regard to the relations with Hungary, the DFRH representatives called for the Hungarian parliament to help them extend the reception area of Hungarian TV programmes, as well as develop the field of native-language education.

Senate Denies Kiraly Led Delegation to Budapest

AU2504205991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2029 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 25/4/1991—In connection with the broadcasting in the evening of April 22 by the Hungarian Television of a piece of news and an film regarding "the visit to Budapest of a Romanian delegation led by Mr. Kiraly Karoly, vice-president of Romania's Senate," taken over by the Budapest dailies with the specification that the Romanian chief delegate was received by the President of the National Assembly of Hungary, Gyorgy Szabad, and attended a session of the Hungarian Parliament, the press and Information Department of the Senate specifies that Mr. Kiraly Karoly, vice-president of the Senate, was in Budapest on a private visit and not at the head of a parliamentary delegation.

Christian Democrats Condemn USSR Treaty

AU2504203591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1947 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 25/4/1991—The Christian Democratic Union and the National Christian Democratic Party—the Maniu-Mihalache Line appreciate in a statement sent to the ROMPRES news agency that the treaty between Romania and the USSR signed in Moscow on April 5, 1991 "ignores and flagrantly violates the principle considered as fundamental and universally valid according to which each people has the right to be independent and sovereign on the territory it is entitled to on the grounds of national majority and historic right."

The treaty, negotiated by the two countries' foreign ministers and recently signed by Presidents Iliescu and Gorbachev, on the Romanian head of state's visit to Moscow, is to be submitted to the Romanian Parliament for ratification.

In interviews with the press the leaders of the main opposition formations, Radu Campeanu and Ion Ratiu, expressed their reserves over that document but they avoided to comment upon it before studying it.

The document was published in the pro-governmental press in Bucharest.

President Iliescu spoke in its favor even during his press conference on Wednesday, April 24, 1991. Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase did the same, bringing also many arguments among which the most important is that hadn't this treaty been signed the present treaty would have been still in force which is updated from all points of view.

Tokes Refutes Accusations of 'Irredentism'

AU2504204891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2028 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 25/4/1991—In a letter with the above headline "I Am Not an Irredentist," Mr. Tokes Laszlo assesses that "the Romanian press as a whole accuses me of irredentism." "Never have I placed myself on irredentist positions. And wanting to avoid even a trace of hypocrisy, I would like to stress that in my historical conscience, and in that of the Hungarian people in general, the Trianon Peace Treaty is of sad remembrance since it turned us into an ethnic minority, taking us apart from our people. This is something natural and by no means an irredentist nostalgia. I think that we have the right to have our own sentiments and opinions, certainly taking into account others' sentiments and opinions. But this is already history. On the basis of political and demographic reality, leaving aside historical "nostalgia" I think that the solution to the national-ethnic questions is not a redivision of the continent and a reopening of state borders which would be impossible but general democratization, national reconciliation, spiritualization of frontiers, the granting of human rights and of collective rights to ethnic minorities respectively, the implementation of the Helsinki process, of the participating states' security and mutual cooperation, integration in Europe. This would be the only way out of the crisis Romania, the multinational Transylvania, are in. It is in this context that I want and I have the right to talk about "the future of Transylvania", the Reformat Bishop of Oradea, the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania honorary president, writes inter alia.

Campeanu on FSN's 'Inability' To Revive Economy

AU2504130691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0902 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/4/1991—According to National Liberal Party [PNL] leader Radu Campeanu, the greatest danger to the country in the transition period is the ruling party's inability to renew the economic and administrative structures, its failure to co-opt people who understand that we must carry reform through and embark on the path of real democracy.

Referring to the proposal advanced by the PNL in December regarding the formation of a national union government headed by a non-affiliated person, Radu Campeanu said: In people's psychology, a national union government would have been an incentive to harder work and solid creation. On the other hand, such a government would have solved the farmers' problem faster, pressing for a more rapid adoption of the land law, and would have balanced the administrative life, which today is dominated by the National Salvation Front [FSN].

Parliamentary Opposition Within FSN Viewed

AU2604112391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1048 GMT 26 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 25/4/1991—In an article in the daily "DIMINEATA," Grigore Traian Pop specifies that, until recently, "the government, the prime minister [as received] were exclusively questioned by the majority group, that of the National Salvation Front [FSN] deputies and senators."

One reason could be, in the opinion of the author, "the process of clarification going on in the ruling party. It seems that certain (parliamentary) groups move to the left with the same speed as the government has decided to move to the right."

Another reason could be that during the short (Easter) parliamentary recess, the parliamentarians were told opinions by their electors. Many of them "explicitly say they express the points of view of those who voted them."

But "the parliamentary opposition in the Front" has become clear also from the vote," notices Grigore Traian Pop.

"A number of laws were adopted with a slim majority, showing that many FSN deputies and senators voted against."

"We could expect FSN parliamentarians to boycott, together with the opposition, laws passed so far only formally in the legislative forum? I think so," G. T. Pop answers his own question, after which he concludes: That should be a reason of concern for the FSN leaders and the government, much more serious than any resistance of the opposition."

Senate Discusses National Security Issues

AU2504210091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2056 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 25/4/1991—During the Thursday [25 April] plenary session of the Senate, the chairman of the Legal, Appointments, Discipline and Immunity Commission, Senator Ion Predescu, read the report on the bill on Romania's national security a bill initiated by a group of senators.

Romania's national security is seen, as it is conceived by the initiators of the bill, as the ensurance and consolidation of the social, economic and political stability required by the existence and development of the state of law, of the country's sovereignty, independence and integrity, of the climate for the exercise of the citizens' fundamental rights and freedoms. National security is ensured by knowing, preventing and removing internal and external threats that can harm all the values protected by law.

In the initiators' outlook, the country's constitution and laws, just as the obligations assumed by Romanian under international conventions and treaties, make up the legal framework for the safeguarding of national security.

The bodies with attributions in this domain are the Romanian Intelligence Service, the foreign intelligence service, the protection and guard service, and the National Defense Ministry, the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Justice. The document specifies that the activities ensuring national security are organized and coordinated by the Supreme Council for the Country's Defense.

Taking the floor during the session, Mihai Stan, deputy director general at the Romanian Intelligence Service, stressed that Romania was one of the few countries that did not have a national security law, and that the urgent approval of this law was necessary in the present internal and international sociopolitical context, specifying that the new institutions would be supervised by the senate.

Eighteen senators representing all political groups expressed their opinions on the document during the general debates. The viewpoints expressed outlined a large variety of stands, with critical remarks vis-a-vis the new institutions. Suspicion and mistrust, fear even, were expressed that the body to be created, through their goals and means of activity, would serve the interests of certain groups or persons. The idea was advanced that that law should have been tackled after the adoption of the constitution. Most of the speakers stressed that the law was not only opportune but also necessary as it concerns the safeguarding of the security of the Romanian people and not of a political party all the more so as Romania lies in a "seismic" geo-political zone.

The general conclusion to which even the opposition adhered was that, through a broad cooperation, a document could be drafted which should not make room to interpretations hat could harm human rights and freedoms.

Consequently, it was agreed that the debates by article begin next week.

Spokesman on False Rumors on Financial Issues

AU2504203391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1958 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 25/4/1991—Many Romanians bought Thursday [25 April] morning a "special edition" announcing, on the basis of groundless, but persistent, rumors that "the leu has been stabilized" and that "money starts being changed today."

Those who paid ten lei, instead of five, the average price of a paper, for this unexpected publication could learn that "gold and hard currency must be turned in within 15 days" the offenders being imprisoned for 25 years. Under this headline the paper runs a decision signed with the slightly distorted [word indistinct] of Premier Petre Roman and another two dignitaries.

Although the publication, claimed, in a small note on the third page, by the weekly "STRADA" [the street], specifies that "it comes out under the aegis of the Institute for Public Finance" on April 31 and that "the payment of public and personal debts is put off until June 31" numerous readers took the publication seriously.

The false news circulated by the "special edition" drew a prompt reaction of the government the spokesman of which used tough words to condemn that "filthy sheet" put out by scandal seeking people trying the get easy profits at the expense of people's "gullibility."

Denying most categorically, as a sheer lie, the so-called stabilization of the leu, Secretary of State Bogdan Baltazar showed that, on the contrary, the government wishes to consolidate the currency, to use all the money

resources to support the reform, privatisation. The government will take important steps in favor of the reform, the Romanian dignitary said inter alia, only after intense public debates.

Assessing the publication as a "very crude trick" which caused panic among people, Mr. Baltazar considered necessary the immediate intervention of the penal inquiry bodies to punish this unspeakable procedure, to punish and prevent "such anti-social, destabilizing acts" asking the association for consumer's protection to help notifying legal bodies about such irresponsible acts.

Ministry Spokesman's News Conference Reported

AU2504182491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1619 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 25/4/1991—On Thursday, April 25, the weekly press conference of the Foreign Ministry began by a homage paid by the Romanian Foreign Ministry to Gad Schuster Gross, Romanian-born correspondent of J.B. Pictures to Bucharest, shot in Northern Iraq at Kirkuk.

"He is but another addition to the great number of journalists and photographers who fell while doing their noble, often heroic duty to keep the public informed on international events in their process. We'll always remember him and we'd like to send his family, his friends and J.B. Pictures condolences and our entire sympathy"—said Undersecretary of State Teodor Melescanu.

Referring to the recent Romanian visit by the Bulgarian Foreign Minister Viktor Vulkov and to his talks with President Ion Iliescu, Prime Minister Petre Roman and other Romanian officials, the Foreign Ministry Spokesman Teodor Melescanu, undersecretary of state, stated: "The pragmatic, concrete approach to the matters of Romanian-Bulgarian relations is of a nature to help the assertion of a new climate in the bilateral relations, the boosting of collaboration, especially economic, in which the structural changes in the two countries have generated also certain temporary difficulties in getting used to them."

"It has been decided", the spokesman said, "to elaborate and negotiate a new treaty of good neighborliness and cooperation, prefaced by a joint statement. Also, a program of cultural exchanges in 1991-1993 will be covenanted. In connection with the ecological zone by the frontier of the two countries, the parties have come to understand it is a common zone with common problems that have to be settled in common and with the assistance of relevant international bodies. The elimination of the currency-related obstacles in tourist exchanges has also been decided."

On April 23 the seven Romanian military experts in the United Nations observer mission—UNIKOM—instituted according to Resolution 687 left Bucharest heading for Kuwait, Mr. Theodor Melescanu, undersecretary of state, spokesman for the Foreign Ministry, said during his weekly press conference.

As is known, the spokesman said, 110 military experts have arrived in the area so far and 90 of them were accommodated in Kuwait.

At the weekly news briefing of the foreign office, Spokesman Teodor Melescanu, under-secretary of state, announced the creation of the state under-secretariat for the relations with the Republic of Moldova, following the recent visit to Chisinau [Kishinev] of the Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase, an office empowered to closely watch the republic's internal developments, its relationships with the central power and the other republics, especially the Ukraine and the Russian Federation; the ways chosen to achieve the aims of the republic's sovereignty declaration; the overall relations between Romania and Moldova; the relationships between Moldova and other states; offer support for Moldova's assertion in the European and international arena; observe other states' reactions to Moldova's strive for sovereignty and independence.

The under-secretary of state to chair this department will liaise between the Moldovan and Romanian authorities, will oversee the activities in the fields of science, economy, culture, politics, human relations.

Israeli President Hayim Herzog invited the Romanian head of state, Ion Iliescu, to pay a visit to Israel. The invitation was extended during the imperial ceremonies in Tokyo, Undersecretary of State Theodor Melescanu, spokesman for the Foreign Ministry, said in his weekly press conference. At the same time, President Iliescu officially invited President Herzog to pay a visit to Romania. Contacts started through the agency of the Romanian Embassy in Tel Aviv to set the date and the place for their meeting.

Jovic Addresses Joint Session of Federal Assembly

LD2504110491 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0807 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Speech by SFRY Presidency President Borisav Jovic to joint session of both houses of the SFRY Assembly—live]

[Text] Respected Comrade President, respected delegates: The SFRY Presidency has decided to address the SFRY Assembly for the third time in the past year because, unfortunately, its assessments and predictions are being confirmed concerning the possible catastrophic consequences for all citizens, nations, and nationalities in the country as a whole if the serious destruction of the SFRY Constitution is not halted and if a solution is not found to the present constitutional crisis in the country.

Since the last address to the SFRY Assembly in October 1990, the political security situation in the country has dramatically deteriorated. There is a danger the constitutional and legal system might completely fall apart. Interethnic turmoil is taking on the characteristics of an armed conflict in individual environments, and on several occasions it was essential to engage units of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA]. At this moment, besides an insignificant calming [of the situation], the political-security situation is tense and pregnant with the dangers of further deterioration.

Internal discord and blockade, the paralysis of the highest bodies of authority, and the destruction of the united system of the security and defense of the country has a major impact on this. The policy of a fait accompli and the adoption of one-sided decisions, which has become the rule of behavior and action in some environments, is being created in a systematic way and independently of negotiations on the future of Yugoslavia. This has created obstacles on the path of the functioning of Yugoslavia as a state community. In terms of its (?volume) and intensity, the crisis, as never before, is seriously threatening to grow into an all-encompassing collapse of the state and society and even civil war. Confirmation of this are the daily political tensions, the threat of force and its unscrupulous application, the increasingly frequent cases of sabotage and terrorist actions, and (?related) incidents in which there are also casualties.

The further intensifying of the economic crisis, which is taking on worrying proportions, is having a markedly unfavorable impact on the overall situation in society. The economy is in an exceptionally difficult position and is in serious danger of general collapse. A large number of enterprises are failing, internal economic imbalances are increasing, the negative trends in relations with foreign countries are intensifying, the financial, banking, and foreign-exchange systems are not functioning. In such circumstances, social problems are constantly on the increase. The growth in unemployment, especially of the young is accelerating in all parts of the country. The payment of personal incomes, including guaranteed personal incomes, are several months late. Pensions and other social funds have been emptied, and the living standard of the broadest strata of the population is increasingly threatened.

Citizens have lost faith in the state and in its institutions, and the state is failing to find a way and the strength to restore that trust. Hence, this is the last moment to put an end to these trends. Otherwise, social discontent could lead to mass strikes and disturbances, and even to an explosion of popular discontent. Such a situation, intertwined with political tensions and interethnic confrontations, could be controlled with difficulty. It could annul all previous efforts invested in overcoming the crisis, as well as hamper and even prevent democratic agreements on the country's future.

Interethnic and interrepublican conflicts have marked the difficult political and security situation in the country in a special way. They have reached a boiling point from which they could turn into a large-scale armed conflicts. Kindling of nationalistic and chauvinistic passions, interethnic intolerance and distrust, and rallying behind nationalistic programs, despite some differences regarding the degree and forms of manifestation, are present throughout the country. The situation is exacerbated to the degree that the erruption of small-scale excesses could turn into large-scale conflicts with unforeseen tragic consequences. Conflicts in the known flashpoints of crisis, as well as new conflicts, could occur at any moment.

These events are manifestations of the crisis that has been intensifying following the adoption of one-sided documents that were accompanied with the use of brute force instead of dialogue and political solutions. Further delays in comprehending and overcoming causes of the crisis could lead to further, even more serious conflicts and victims. This demands that, with full responsibility and on the basis of understanding of all important causes, we embark upon concrete resolution of these problems.

Crude violations of constitutionality and legality have a major impact on the difficult security and political situation. It can be rightly said that the Yugoslavia's constitutional and legal system has disintegrated to a great extent. In many parts of the country, a paraconstitutional [paraustavno] or completely unconstitutional state of affairs exists. Two parallel and mutually exclusive legal systems—federal and republican—are in force, and not even decisions of the SFRY Constitutional Court are observed.

Yugoslavia has been disintegrating legally, economically, and politically as a result of illegal and chaotic actions. This threatens even greater misunderstandings and conflicts.

We stubbornly kept issuing warnings of possible consequences and continued to insist on strict adherence to the federal laws on the entire territory of the SFRY and

on the use of all political and legal devices available to stop the practice of enforcing legal and other regulations which conflict with the SFRY Constitution and with federal laws.

We saw this as the only way to prevent the disintegration of the country's legal and political system and to safeguard against anarchy and chaos; however, despite our warnings, unconstitutional practice have continued. In a very short period of time, parallel with appeals for dialogue and for democratic solutions to all controversial issues, individual republics passed their own constitutional amendments, constitutions, sovereignty declarations, resolutions on disassociation, and other documents designed to suspend and be a substitute for federal laws.

The legitimacy of the country's supreme bodies is being openly questioned. By failing to implement decisions passed by these bodies and to observe federal regulations, federal units are unilaterally taking over powers invested with these bodies, are proclaiming their own sovereignty without legal grounds, and are making other anticonstitutional moves.

This policy and practice—i.e. the policy of fait accompli and the failure to observe the SFRY Constitution and federal laws, are the foundations on which concepts of Yugoslav's disintegration have been drawn up. The federal state is being dismantled and the work of its organs blocked. As a result, entire republics, their nationalities and citizens are being put in an unequal position. A constitutional loophole that did not allow the constitution of a republic to be annuled if it clashed with the federal constitution was exploited skillfully and systematically. The constitutional-legal provision has also been abundantly used under which, in most cases, the constitution of a republic takes precedence over the Federal Constitution when the former conflicts with the latter and until annuled by the SFRY Constitutional Court.

Other shortcomings of the 1974 Constitution have also been exploited including the provision under which the federation, in principle, enforces its laws through (?relevant original in the republics. These, however, have even been refusing to implement the decisions of the SFRY Constitutional Court.

It has become clear that slogans used during election campaigns in some republics about the independence and sovereignty of the republic-states were firmly based on these constitutional provisions and that their use was conscientiously inculcated in the policy of dismantling Yugoslavia.

An illustration of the complexity of the political-security situation in the country is provided by the serious situation in the very system of security and defense. The security system is threatened throughout the country. Process of disintegration in this field, which is vital for any state community, have reached such a level that the system as a whole has basically not been functioning for a long time. This, in practical terms, has prevented the common work of the bodies and departments of security for the defense of the integrity and sovereignty of the country.

The bodies and departments of security in the republics are restricting the flow of information to the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs on phenomena and events that are significant for the security of the country, or it is provided on a selective and incomplete basis. As a result, it is not in a position to present a complete and objective assessment of the security situation in the country, nor, in line with this, is it taking or proposing measures within its competence. In this way, the SFRY Presidency itself is put in a situation in which it is not in a position to carry out in a quality-based way its constitutional competence in this field. It is not difficult to imagine all the security risks and dangers the country could fall into as a result of this.

Recently, the armed forces—especially the JNA—have been under the greatest pressure from the forces that are working for the disintegration of the country. In individual environments the constitutional role of the JNA is being brought into question, its integrity is being destroyed, and its every activity, as well as its need to exist, is disputed. In individual republics the decisions of the SFRY Presidency that the command of territorial defense be harmonized with currently valid federal regulations are being ignored. A reorganization and equipping of republican units and commands is being carried out by the illegal importing of arms. They are organizing exercises and planning actions to paralyze the activity of the JNA. Federal regulations on the sending of recruits to do their military service are not being respected, and other measures are being taken, to the benefit of paramilitary organizations, which are paralyzing the system of recruiting, vacancy-filling, and mobilization of the Armed Forces.

The abrogation of the constitution or the reduction of the obligation to do military service is directly destroying the constitutionally established character of the JNA and is seriously threatening the country's security.

The withholding of established financial resources for the needs of the JNA is seriously bringing its functioning into question. At the same time, in some repubics enormous resources are being earmarked for the development of republican armed forces.

Paramilitary, single-nation, and single-party formations, which have been partly transformed into police units and republican armies, have been set up. Lately, the so-called guards or volunteer units, various shock brigades, and even units abroad, have been formed. Parts of units (?formed) outside the SFRY Armed Forces are being placed under the command of republican defense ministries, which undoubtedly shows that republican armies are being set up.

The 9 January SFRY order on the dissolution and disarming of unlawful formations has not been carried

out. The Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly discussed this at length recently. Instead of implementing the order, which the SFRY Presidency is advocating as a condition for a peaceful and democratic resolution of the Yugoslav crisis, demands are being made that the order be invalidated. Arming people on the basis of their national and party affiliation will inevitably spread to other nations and parties. The JNA has publicly proclaimed that under these conditions it cannot bear responsibility for further unlawful arming, which can only worsen the political and security situation further and take us a step nearer civil war. The JNA's activity aimed at preventing armed rebellion, which is its constitutional duty, is interpreted as preparations for or the beginning of a military coup. Its efforts to protect peace, the safety of people and vital buildings, including its own, is presented as violence and the use of force for political aims. The JNA is being labelled as a force of occupation. Speculation about the unity of the Army leadership and of senior officers is being spread. Soldiers are openly called to desert the Army. JNA officers are exposed to harassment and blackmails. A vicious propaganda campaign is being waged against the JNA. No other law-governed state treats its Army in this way. Under all these unfavorable conditions, according to the SFRY Presidency's assessment, the JNA has based its activity on strictly defined constitutional and legal framework, and at no time has it overstepped its authority.

These two issues, the functioning of the country's security system and the status and role of the JNA, have exacerbated the crisis to the full, because the peaceful life of our citizens, the country's independence and survival have been put into direct jeopardy.

The increased activity of the Albanian sepratists in its various forms and numerous attempts to instigate conflicts with the aim of implementating the so-called Kacanik constitution, still pose a serious problem for the security situation in the country.

Media wars, which have been waged for some time, have a negative impact on the worsening situation in the country. Intended to intensufy divisions in the country and to pave the way for the realization of partial interests, the media war, with its preconceived and systematic propaganda aimed at influencing stands, views, and behavior of citizens in certain environments, has been turning into a form of psychological warfare. To isolate republican information space, no means are spared, starting from spreading half-truths to publishing slanders, false information, unsubstanted accusations, and open falsehoods. Even the greatest historical truths are being assaulted.

The aim of these activities is not just to discredit and insult the adversarial national or republican environment but, by exploiting current difficulties, to break up the common state and its defense capability, especially the Armed Forces, as well as to win over domestic and foreign public opinion for the realization of separatist goals. With their tactless statements, top state and political officials both in the republics and the federation are frequently contributing to this, without bearing any political consequences for their contribution.

Honored delegates, it is obvious that Yugoslavia is in one of the most difficult postwar situations. The intense crisis is approaching its denouement in two possible ways. The first involves reaching agreement on developing a Yugoslav community on new foundations, including a definition of a legal and constitutional way out from the Yugoslav community for all those who will to do so. The second, a haphazardous disintegration of the current Yugoslav state with unforseeable consequences. It is obvious that we are at a crossroads: Either we will secure a peaceful and democratic way out of the crisis, or we will allow processes that will lead us directly into serious conflicts and civil war to prevail.

If a swift agreement on the future of a Yugoslav community is not reached, or if at least clear indications are not given that such an agreement is possible on clearly defined conceptions, there is a real danger that the federal legal system will cease to operate throughout the country; that Yugoslavia will completely disintegrate in respect of its economy, security, and politics; that chauvinism will continue to escalate and endanger the survival of members of certain nations in certain areas; that new military formations and uncontrolled arming of citizens will continue; that the Yugoslav character of the JNA will de facto be abolished; that armed conflicts in mixed national environments will errupt, following which large-scale national and republican conflicts could occur. These real dangers should influence all institutions of the system to invest energetic efforts in ending these unfavorable trends, so the events are kept under control and a democratic and peaceful way out of the crisis is found.

The historical responsibility of all political subjects for the fate of Yugoslavia and for the future of our nations and nationalities is being tested. Also being tested is the political maturity of our peoples and citizens who certainly should and can sense the crucial crossroads at which we find ourselves, because by their public and political influence they are making a contribution to a peaceful way out of the crisis. The consequences of a different solution would affect precisely them in the first instance.

Respected delegates, the further intensification of the economic crisis and the growth of social tensions has had a vital impact on the deterioration of the political-security situation. The discrepancy between achieved economic development and the proclaimed aims and tasks which we have wanted to realize by means of the anti-inflation program is increasingly great. The decline in the social product and in industrial production is not only much greater than planned but is taking on catastrophic proportions, without any prospects at all for a positive turnabout unless more significant changes in economic policy are secured.

The SFRY Presidency thus gave a timely warning: All responsibility for the failure of economic policy cannot be shifted onto others without talking about the policy's weakness which have been undoubted, as well as about the insufficiently energetic standpoint of the Federal Executive Council [FEC] in relation to those who have violated the Constitution and federal laws. The resolution of the serious economic and social problems can be secured only by halting the further decline in economic activity and by creating the necessary (?conditions) for its revitalization on stabilization bases, and in this way also by opening up development prospects.

Yugoslavia, today more than ever before, needs a program to find a way out of the economic crisis, on which a consensus of the republics and autonomous provinces can be achieved, because unless there is a consensus about our conditions, no program or policy can be implemented. The country will be not be helped even by the best program from the point of view of those who do not decide on it, if it is not acceptable to the legitimate representatives of the republics. The SFRY Presidency must warn that over the past year and a half, as a result of the lack of a consensus in the SFRY Assembly on the government program, one constitutional provision foreseen as an exception—the adoption of temporary measures—has almost become the rule, something that has proven to be ineffective.

Respected delegates, the Yugoslav internal crisis is being treated as the most sensitive point in Europe and, objectively speaking, is achieving a high degree of internationalization. This is borne out by the numerous appeals and official statements by the most important international factors and in debates and press articles. Our internal developments, separatist ideas and the growing nationalism as the basic generators of the crisis, political exclusivity, the destruction of the constitutional and legal system by the republics, and conflicts and violence are contrary to modern civilization-orientated achievements and democratic trends in the world.

Political circumstances in Yugoslavia and developments in a completely different direction from those in the world at large undoubtedly have a great historical price for each of the Yugoslav republics and for all our peoples and citizens. This is already being confirmed now by the deteriorating international position of our country as a whole, as well as by the dislocation and stagnation in all areas of business operations and communications with the world. The international credibility of Yugoslavia is also being destroyed by the intensive activities of individual republics in obtaining external support for their political, above all separatist, goals, as a rule at the expense of and by way of discrediting Yugoslavia as a common state and its other republics.

Such behavior is almost without precedent in the history of international relations. Attempts by some republics to gain international legitimacy by slandering the federal state is not met with approval by serious foreign partners and is counterproductive from the point of view of real affirmation of the republics and our nations as subjects of international economic, political, and cultural life. Former experience confirms that the international activity of republics can be successful and acceptable to foreign partners only if it is politically and institutionally compatible with SFRY foreign policy activity. The world is not interested in anachronistic and incongruous movements in a strategically important region such as ours, posing a constant threat to peace and threatening to cause an internal or international conflict with all its possible consequences.

The internal crisis has become our most serious burden in representing and realizing our interests in international relations. As far as bilateral partners and multinational institutions and asociations are concerned, Yugoslavia is being seen less and less as a partner in international relations and increasingly as a sick man and a source of serious conflicts. A further intensification of the Yugoslav crisis will inevitably lead to international factors adopting a passive, wait-and-see attitude toward specific forms of bilateral cooperation, but also to a policy of partial interference in our internal affairs.

The internal crisis has worsened the overall climate for economic and financial relations with foreign countries. It has brought into question the almost-established stand that talks should open about giving Yugoslavia affiliate member status of the EC whose wait-and-see attitude is manifested by the fact that only current and the already agreed forms of cooperation are being continued. Affiliate membership is directly linked with a democratic and peaceful settlement of the crisis, the preservation of the country's integrity, and fulfillment of other known conditions, above all, free elections for the federal bodies of power.

Negotiations with the EFTA [European Free Trade Association] organiztion about a free-trade zone, which started last December, have been practically stopped. Who in the world can trust that the Federal Government will guarantee the implementation of international agreements under conditions when the Federal Constitution and laws are being disregarded, when the Yugoslav market is not functioning, when issuing of new currencies is being heralded, when internal duties and levies are being imposed, and measures incompatible with modern market activities are being introduced. The procedure for the admission of Yugoslavia to the Council of Europe has been stopped practically in the final phase. Our request for full OECD membership has been abandoned.

The erosion of Yugoslavia's international position is fraught with the danger of the country becoming ecologically and politically marginalized with far-reaching unfavorable effects on our economic, social, cultural, and political development. If we fail to prevent this, the gap between Yugoslavia and the developed countries of Europe will widen even more and our internal crisis and prospects for resolving it become even more complex and uncertain.

It is obvious that we will qualify to join Europe—as a single legal, economic, and cultural area and the Europe of regions and citizens in which priority is given to those who are more skillful and happy and those who possess genuine values to show for—providing we arrive at appropriate solutions to our political situation in line with world democratic achievements and the imperatives of the time. Now is the time to make long-term decisions. Any delay in resolving our crisis makes our position even more difficult and deprives us of the possibility of securing the place and reputation which, in the light of our contribution so far to European processes, we objectively deserve.

In our efforts to resolve the crisis, however, we cannot ignore unanimous warnings from all relevant international factors—the EC and all its member countries, the United States and the USSR, neighboring countries, and other important political and financial factors—about the need to preserve the unity and the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia and to find democratic solutions to internal relations in a peaceful way and without the use of force. This implies any form of force including unconstitutional, undemocratic, and unilateral imposition of decisions of common interest. They insist on full respect for human rights, on an economy organized on market principles, and on a multiparty parliamentary system at the level of the entire country. Those who ignore such demands by the international community are playing a cruel game with the fate of the people and citizens of this country. These demands must be taken seriously and be considered in the search for solutions to our future life.

Honorable delegates, the resolution of the constitutional crisis is the key to change in the political-security situation, to the resolution of economic and social problems, and to Yugoslavia's more favorable standing. The constitutional crisis is the core of all our misfortunes, and the most complex issue which we face. As is already known, the adoption of a new SFRY constitution, which the SFRY Presidency initiated in January 1990, was blocked by some federal units that ignored this proposal and, furthermore, adopted stands that republican constitutions should be adopted first, and only then can the Yugoslav constitution be discussed. Then we pointed out that such behavior is leading to the deliberate disintegration of the country and we opposed it energetically. Our warnings, however, fell on deaf ears.

Last autumn in the SFRY Assembly, we set in motion a fresh initiative for the resolution of the constitutional crisis and informed the SFRY Assembly about the outcome of talks with republican and provincial presidents, which were aimed at finding solutions for future relations in Yugoslavia. On that occasion, the SFRY Presidency submitted a draft program to you regarding the resolution of the constitutional crisis, a concept of federation and a model of confederation, and its support for the federal concept. This initiative was specified in a report [words indistinct] on 17 October 1990. Even then we stated that to resolve the country's constitutional crisis the only legal thing to do is to procede from the fact that Yugoslavia exists; that we should start drafting its new constitutional system; that a legal procedure must be established to fulfill a possible wish to separate from Yugoslavia; and that citizens must make their views known through a referendum. It is high time to start with drafting a constitution for those who want to stay and live within the framework of a single Yugoslav state. The SFRY Assembly considered the initiative and supported the asssessments and proposals of the SFRY Presidency. This was evident in related conclusions adopted by the Federal Chamber.

Proceeding from the basic assessment of the SFRY Presidency that the existing SFRY Constitution does not provide a sufficient framework for the resolution of the crisis—that is, demands for the crisis to be overcome in a peaceful and democratic manner—the Federal Chamber concluded that a manner and procedure for the resolution of the constitutional crisis should be regulated with a special document. The (?discussion proceeding from) the adoption of this regulation, which the Commission for Constitutional Issues has prepared in the form of a declaration on starting to develop new relations in a Yugoslav community,—confirmed the depth of our crisis and the lack of agreement not just about key issues regarding the content of future relations, but also the rules of conduct during the process of resolving the constitutional crisis.

All past efforts that were designed to facilitate an agreement on solutions acceptable to all ended in failure owing to diametrically opposed political standpoints.

Strongly convinced that any further delay in reaching an agreement on Yugoslavia's political future was fraught with an immediate danger of catastrophic consequences for the economy and for interethnic and inter-republic relations, the SFRY Presidency initiated a new round of talks at the end of December 1990 with the presidents of the republics and the presidents of the presidencies of the republics and autonomous provinces. All the talks held in the meantime as well as bilateral meetings between the most responsible leaders of the republics and the ongoing talks between the presidents have unfortunately failed to produce a result that could be used as a joint platform for outlining the political future of the Yugoslav community or for a way out of the political crisis. On these occasions, too, it became clear that there existed conceptually different approaches which, unless overcome, will hamper any progress in the search for a commonly acceptable solution.

It became evident during the talks that there existed diametrically opposed views on the future character of the Yugoslav community and on ways of achieving it. On the other hand, the departure point is the fact that Yugoslavia exists as a federal state and that there is a constitutionally envisaged way of changing its political system: No nation's right to self-determination, including secession, should be questioned, but any potential demand for secession should be regulated in a constitutional and legal way. In building the system of

authority, democratic society must proceed from the sovereignty of citizens, and national sovereignty is reflected in the nation's right to self-determination. Furthermore, by implication, decisions on secession cannot be made by majority vote—rather, a nation must be given an opportunity to decide in a referendum on the type of community in which it wishes to live. Withdrawal by one or more republics from Yugoslavia raises the issue of territorial settlements and of new borders and all the serious consequences stemming from it; that no talk is possible about an alliance of sovereign states before both the Constitution and the law provide for the creation of independent and sovereign states, etc.

On the other hand, there is insistence on the sovereignty of the republics despite the fact that there are members of several Yugoslav nations living in them. This has been used as a basis for claiming that the borders between the republics are identical with state borders and are irrevocable and that Yugoslavia can be transformed in an alliance of sovereign states by an agreement between the republics. It is maintained at the same time that the authorities in the republics can independently decide on their republic's separation and transformation into an independent and sovereign state.

Because of to considerable difficulties in overcoming the aforementioned conflicts on individual points of departure, attempts were made during talks to put into the background the issue of the character of the future community and first to discuss common functions—that is, interests on which the community would be based—and only then to agree on the character of the community, relations within it, the functioning of its bodies, etc.

It transpired, however, that conceptually differing approaches could not be reconciled in respect of key issues. Considerably professional efforts were made to define possible constitutional solutions in all important areas of the future Yugoslav community, economic, defense and security, civil rights, and relations with foreign countris. It also transpired that a real discussion about these issues objectively depends on whether one thinks that functions of a common states or an alliance of sovereign states are being considered. Because this was not resolved, it was not possible to take a step forward on these issues. A report was drafted about a constitutional and legal regulation of the right of nations to self-determination, including the right to secession; however, real discussions about these issues could not be held. Those who voiced a political wish for independence, did not agree that the Constitution and laws regulate independence procedure. They claimed that this was not what they wished and defended their wish for the so-called separation, which is in practice tantamount to a disintegration by consensus of the current common state into six independent and sovereign states, which was unacceptable for those who intend to continue living in Yugoslavia.

Under these conditions, it seemed rational to change the manner in which solutions were sought. So, it was accepted that for a time bilateral talks between republican leaders be intensified and that a number of meetings between presidents of republics and republican presidencies be held with the aim of finding a way out of this situation. Talks between presidents of republics and republican presidencies, in the view of the SFRY Presidency, have not yet yielded expected results. A clearer polarization of views was expressed but views have not been brought closer together.

An agreement on a referendum could be a step forward, under certain conditions. According to the SFRY Presidency, if a referendum is called [word indistinct] as it is defined now, it would not provide an answer to real questions. The SFRY Presidency holds that referendum can and should be a way of resolving our political crisis. Additional efforts, however, should be invested so that an agreement about the real issues to be asked in a referendum, is reached between republics.

Honorable delegates, finally, I wish to express a firm conviction that there are as many reasons today which could motivate all our nations for a life together, as there were several decades ago. The disagreements, which draw their main roots and sources from a longlasting one-party political system and the statist model of the economy, can be overcome by firm orientation toward a general course of democratization and destatization of both the economy and of comprehensvie economic relations in general. In keeping with these processes, it is possible to overcome the problems arising from the need to step up development in all fields, above all the problems of the status and equality of citizens, nations, and nationalities, as well as of their republics in the Yugoslav community. If there is political will—in conditions of the equality of nations and nationalities—to seek new political solutions for coexistence, I believe that they can ensure that everyone should feel free and equal in a common state. A successful implementation of this very important, sensitive, and complex historic undertaking presupposs and requires the broadest possible involvement of all the interested institutions and individuals capable of making a constructive, competent, and creative contribution to finding universally accepted solutions.

While seeking solutions, we cannot rely solely on the SFRY Presidency and on the republican presidents—i.e. republican presidencies—and it is, therefore, important to spread this activity to the SFRY Assembly, to multiparty republican legislatures, to scientific and professional institutions, including party forums and eminent public workers. This enormous intellectual, expert, and professional potential can be very valuable in the forthcoming democratic process of seeking solutions to the crisis as swiftly and as successfully as possible.

It will be easier to find a way out of this situation by combined efforts, creating an atmosphere in which a spirit of tolerance and good will on the part of all participants prevails. We firmly believe that the democratic option is not only desirable but also unavoidable

and the only rational one. In addition, we must all bear in mind that patience will diminish if the crisis continues. At the same time, as patience diminishes so the degree of rational behavior is also reduced. The previous period of confrontations, which, I presume, taught us a lesson, is the best illustration of irrational behavior which could have led to a conflict with unforseeable consequences. All responsible subjects should contribute [words indistinct] and never to be repeated.

Esteemed delegates, proceeding from [word indistinct], the SFRY Presidency adopted a stand whereby further activities aimed at resolving the constitutional crisis should take the following direction:

First, it is necessary to continue and step up agreements on the regulation of common interests in the future Yugoslav community considering that there is no suitable alternative to a peaceful and democratic solution to the Yugoslav political and constitutional crisis. These agreements must be based on the complete equality of the protagonists, and must also take the views of the citizens and the equality of the peoples into account.

Second, until an agreement on the political future of the country is reached, it is necessary to ensure a consistent application of the federal regulations and a normal economic and social life to prevent the possibility of any kind of incidents and violence and also to prevent attempts to change the structure and the relations within the existing Yugoslav community by unilateral and unconstitutional decisions. Special efforts should be made to stop the media war, including restraint by all the participants in negotiations on the political future of the country, regarding subsequent comments that intensify confrontations and irritate the public.

Third, the agreement on the future organization of a Yugoslav community should result from the democratic consent of all legitimate Yugoslav entities. It is indisputable that this refers primarily to the republics but also to the federal bodies—the SFRY assembly, the SFRY Presidency, and the Federal Executive Council—all of which must, in accordance with their own constitutional obligations and responsibilities, be allowed to play an appropriate role and establish firmer cooperation and division of responsibilities, as well as set (?realistic) deadlines.

Fourth, in these negotiations a nation's right to self-determination, including the right to secession, must remain as one of the main principles on which relations in Yugoslavia will be based. This means that those Yugoslav nations who see their future outside the Yugoslav community must also be given the right to exercise that interest. The SFRY Assembly and its Commission for Constitutional issues must consider and draw up proposals for a constitutional and legal basis and procedure for a possible separation from the SFRY. They must develop appropriate amendments and laws on the basis of a referendum as a democratic institution of the peoples and citizens.

Fifth, the SFRY Presidency will continue its activities in an attempt to arrive at key stands and resolutions as soon as possible about the political solution for the future of the country, and at the same time, will actively cooperate with the SFRY Assembly and republican and other relevant institutions and organizations.

Respectable deputies, the Yugoslav political crisis today attracts widest attention and interest. Both we, here in this country, as well as many countries of Europe and the world, are concerned. The most eminent statesmen, politicians, and public figures have voiced their most serious warnings and are expressing their most [word indistinct]. They are all very aware of the fact that it is not at all simple to find a way to resolve the Yugoslav crisis, but they all agree in one respect: If we do not succeed in finding a way out of it by democratic means, we will inevitably sink into the abyss of the most horrendous internal conflicts, and even bloodshed. According to some views, in light of strong political tendencies to destroy the country, we can hardly avoid this.

I call on all the deputies of the SFRY Assembly, the relevant institutions and individuals, and all the citizens of our country to consider the dangers facing us and to make their contribution toward a peaceful and a democratic way out of the crisis in which our country has found itself.

Markovic Views Federal Economic Issues

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[Excerpts] Belgrade, 25 Apr (TANJUG)—Today the Federal Executive Council's [FEC] new measures gained wide support from Yugoslav businessmen. In today's talks with President Ante Markovic however, they demanded that those measures should be more elaborated, improved and made specific, and a guarantee should be given that they will yield results.

Most of the questions and dilemmas raised by over 100 export businessmen, bankers, representatives of the tourist industry and transport firms at the meeting focused on how the newly introduced income, public spending, and balance of payments limits will be maintained and above all what actions will be taken to make the foreign currency market really function and to restore the trust of our citizens and foreign business partners, and particularly that of the banks.

In his introductory address Markovic explicitly started that there is no reason, nor is there any excuse, for price rises, which are being prepared by some sectors of the economy as they want to keep up with devaluation.

Markovic said that essentially the same degree of liberalization of imports is to remain, although some corrections have already been made to strike a balance between imports and our balance of payments.

The FEC and the National Bank of Yugoslavia have comitted themselves to a full restoration of the hard currency market's functions and there is no reason, Markovic stressed, for again "installing" the so-called "wedge". The balance of payments can be maintained against the present liberalizaiton of imports, the FEC president believes, and pointed out that in the event of the hard currency reserves dropping to 3 billion the country's liquidity will not be threatened.

Markovic stressed that measures are being taken to enable citizens to have hard currencies at their disposal, and that the FEC and the National Bank of Yugoslavia are sufficiently strong to forestall speculations in the economy as well as unnecessary spending and the outflow of capital from the country.

Expressing his optimism about the capability of the Yugoslav—particularly the export-oriented—economy and calling on it to cooperate in repairing its severed economic and legal links, Markovic stressed that the FEC measures, although this might come across as a paradox, are winning increasing support both in the country and abroad.

We are following the best of ways to reinstitute the system's functions in the country as we struggle for "the 11 plus three formula", the FEC president said, as he pointed out that this was obviously borne out by yesterday's debate in the Federal Chamber in the SFRY Assembly, where the FEC was highly trusted, to a greater extent than the government had expected.

Reflecting on his earlier estimate that the transformation of this system into a market-oriented one required at least five years, Markovic pointed out that without this there could be no rise in production, whose main lever remains a sharp rise in exports.

As far as this year's tourist season is concerned, the president assesses, we still have a chance, particularly among individual travelers who usually decide on their destination at the last moment. It is important nevertheless that our fuel prices are not raised because they are still lower than elsewhere in the world. [passage omitted]

Until a law on the federation's public debt is adopted, which is expected in May, the central monetary power will make sure that banks have sufficient resources necessary for foreign-currency transactions. Announcing the decision, soon to be adopted by the council of governors, which would secure these "financial crutches" until the law is adopted, Dusan Vlatkovic, governor of the National Bank of Yugoslavia, appealed to businessmen and citizens to restrain themselves from the pressure on the foreign currency market.

In reply to the key question—how to restore trust both in the country and abroad—the FEC president said toward the end of today's meeting that the most important thing in this respect is to ensure the complete functioning of the system and the macroeconomic policy. The question of public debt, on the basis of foreign currency savings, must be resolved so citizens can feel safe and be able to trust our banks again. This debt must be covered by realistic resources and at the level of the country, which means from the budget of the federation.

The "second" kind of trust, the one in the world, will be restored if the "11 plus three" formula and the balance of macroeconomic agregates are accepted. Once the budget is adopted, our agreement with the IMF will be guaranteed, after which we can expect a new atmosphere of trust, FEC President Ante Markovic said today.

Federal Chamber Conclusions on Markovic Report

LD2504231391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1938 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Apr (TANJUG)—The Federal Chamber of the Yugoslav Assembly tonight adopted its conclusions following President Ante Markovic's recent report and the federal governments analysis of the problems surrounding the implementation of economic reform.

The chamber considers that the Federal Executive Council [FEC] president's report FEC documents provide a detailed analysis of the problems attending the implementation of the socioeconomic and political reforms. It sees this as a good basis for reviewing the effects, soundness, and quality of the measures already taken.

At the same time the chamber points out that the report and documents do not sufficiently point out the shortcomings and delays in the measures taken or proposed by the FEC and the extent to which these measures have contributed to the state of affairs in the economy and society in general, in a situation where there have been retreats from the policy of economic and social reform and the reforms have not been implemented evenly in all parts of the country.

The FEC program should include measures that would curb the negative tendencies of declining production, social product, and investments. This would improve the position of workers, the conclusions stress.

The chamber maintains that domestic production should be constantly exposed to world competition, while a system of selective protection should be applied to domestic production by the introduction of a more adequate policy of import liberalization.

Monetary and lending policy should be uniform, flexible, and aimed at curtailing the drop in production and creating the conditions for its revival.

The chamber maintains that it is necessary to conduct a realistic exchange rate policy for the dinar. This is the key element of every reform program, of the economy's export motivation, and of more realistically estimated import quotas.

The transformation of social ownership into other forms of ownership should be resolutely continued. This is one of the ways to acquire extra capital, in line with the law on social capital, the conclusions state.

The chamber emphasizes the importance of implementing housing reform, which should provide a considerable amount of funds, not just for housing investments but for boosting the economy too.

The chamber demands comprehensible and effective social programs at the sociopolitical community level, without limiting the use of funds for these programs by tying up those funds that firms have allocated to their workers who have been made redundant by technology.

The chamber supports the FEC program for the functioning of the system in the transitional period. It charges the FEC with the duty of suggesting adequate legislation to the SFRY Assembly as soon as possible. That is, it should take measures within its competence for implementing the program.

The chamber maintains that the FEC program's success is solely conditional upon a political consensus on its acceptance and implementation. A political consensus is also needed on the FEC's program even if it is pared down.

The chamber maintains that the successful implementation of the FEC program, and particularly the halting of the fall in production, is impossible without a considerable amount of foreign financial support. The chamber supports the FEC's efforts to secure this financial support as soon as possible.

The chamber calls once again on the assemblies of those republics and autonomous provinces that have not yet given their consent to amendments 49 to 72 to the SFRY Constitution to do so as soon as possible. At least they should give consent to those amendments that facilitate the implementation of the reform of the economic and political system and multiparty elections at the federal level.

The chamber charges the FEC with the duty of preparing, as soon as possible, its proposal for holding multiparty elections to the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly and to submit it to this chamber.

The federal chamber will, in line with its constitutional rights and responsibilities, get involved in reaching the agreement on the Yugoslav community's future arrangement. The Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly requires that the FEC submit reports on a monthly basis on the implementation of the program to the SFRY Assembly. It also requires that the chamber's working councils monitor the implementation of this program on a regular basis, within their sphere of competence, the conclusions say.

Federal Chamber Adopts Declaration on Relations

LD2604130191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1158 GMT 26 Apr 91

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Apr (TANJUG)—At today's session, the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly adopted a declaration on the commencement of the process of organizing new relations in Yugoslavia. The declaration, as a code of conduct, will ensure a legal, peaceful, and democratic path of Yugoslavia's transformation.

Sixty-one delegates voted in favor of the declaration, 39 voted against, and 17 abstained. The voting also rejected the only alternative concerning internal borders, which for a long time, has been a stumbling block in the process of drafting the declaration.

The declaration on the commencement of the process of organizing new relations in Yugoslavia sets the necessary rules of conduct required during the process of drafting and adopting a new document that would determine relations in Yugoslavia and subjects of this process, and provide assurances to the republics and nations that they will be equal partners in talks.

Proceeding from the Constitution, the declaration sets out that, apart from the republics, the SFRY Assembly also decides on the fate of Yugoslavia, since only the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly is empowered to change Yugoslav borders.

U.S. Envoy's Talks in Slovenia, Croatia 'Normal'

LD2504224291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1533 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Belgrade, April 25 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav diplomacy does not represent any partial policy in this country, Yugoslav Government spokesman Srdjan Kerim said today.

Speaking today at the regular weekly news conference, Kerim said that in representing the interest of Yugoslavia the "Yugoslav diplomacy has a duty to take into account the interests of the republics—unless they are directed against the interests of other parts of the country."

Kerim described the talks U.S. Ambassador Warren Zimmerman held recently in the Republics of Slovenia and Croatia as "part of the normal diplomatic activities of an ambassador."

Zimmerman does not possess a magic wand for the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis, Kerim said, adding that the ambassador's visits should not be linked with any such expectations, as the "key to the solution rests in our hands."

Commenting on the talks Yugoslav Presidency member from Slovenia Janez Drnovsek held recently in the United States, Kerim said that according to the knowledge of the Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat international financial institutions in the United States "do not wish

to establish separate relations with Yugoslavia's constituent parts, regardless of the country's organization."

Rupel on Slovenia's Foreign Policy

LD2504202691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1228 GMT 24 Apr 91

[Excerpt] Ljubljana, 24 Apr (TANJUG)—"Slovenia has all the qualifications to rank among normal European states," Slovene Foreign Affairs Minister Dimitrij Rupel stated during the joint session of the Slovene Assembly today. Dr. Rupel presented to the deputies the Slovene foreign policy strategy in the service of the plan to make Slovenia independent, together with the outline of the law on foreign affairs.

The world understands the democratization of Slovenia well, but its separation less so, Rupel stressed, recalling the warnings dispatched by "some European Community [countries]." They should not be ignored, but they cannot veto the right of the Slovene people to self-determination. Rupel explained the efforts of some "big and wise countries in the West" to preserve Yugoslavia by reference partly to their insouciance, that is, their fear of conflicts in the Balkans. "This fear is misguided, stemming as it does from the erroneous assumption that unity in itself guarantees stability, while independence is allegedly tied up with instability," Rupel said, adding that "the most ardent defenders of Yugoslav unity can be found at home."

Of course, the warnings should not be underestimated, regardless of the fact that one should count on long-term pressure when the question of recognition of Slovenia's statehood is at stake. Rupel informed the deputies that the government is ready for Slovenia's possible isolation when it takes the steps that it has decided on by virtue of the plebiscite. "We shall avoid isolation with the least difficulty if we carry out our actions through an agreement-seeking process and by carefully respecting the interests of other nations in and outside Yugoslavia."

Rupel presented the stance that Slovenia is not leaving Yugoslavia to become an island in Europe; it is not leaving because of egotism or because it wants to behave like a spoilt child, but because it is impossible to get into Europe with Yugoslavia. This point was proved when Yugoslavia applied for membership of the Council of Europe, the European Free Trade Association, OECD, etc. They received the Hungarians, the Czechs, and the Slovaks and they are now in the process of receiving the Poles. "We Slovenes feel like captives in Yugoslavia," the Slovene foreign affairs minister said.

Rupel stressed that Slovania refuses to accept imposed integration and assimilation. "We want to be independent, to be able to associate as our perceptions and interests dictate to us. Integration is not a value per se. And last, but not least Hitler, Stalin, and Tito's generals wanted to integrate us too," Rupel said, warning that the Slovenes do not allow anyone else, either Moscow or Belgrade, to integrate them. "In this sense we have taken state jurisdiction away from Belgrade and taken it on ourselves so that perhaps tomorrow we can surrender it to the European Parliament, Council of Europe, UN... [TANJUG ellipsis] while wanting to keep for ourselves the essential national jurisdiction." Rupel described the new thinking and the consideration of the concept of the Pentagonale and the Alpe-Adria community as being the paramount task of Slovene foreign policy. "Within the area encompassed by the Pentagonale we could define anew and more firmly the Central European area to cover the territory of Austria, the Czech lands, Slovakia, Hungary, Slovenia, and Croatia, and possibly Bosnia-Hercegovina too. From the EC, Germany and Italy, that is, some of their provinces, gravitate to this area, and from the east other parts of Yugoslavia, and perhaps also Romania, Albania, and Bulgaria."

Rupel described three "zones", i.e. first—the interested EC states or provinces; second—Central European countries; and third—southeast [European] countries. According to Rupel the Pentagonale would signify a broader context of the Europeization of Eastern Europe, Central Europe being its center. "To complete the 'western' circle around Central Europe, the EC could secure the inclusion of Greece too," Rupel added.

Explaining the outline of the law on foreign affairs, Rupel stressed that Slovenia will be able to assert itself as a state if it establishes its own foreign affairs service and secures the conditions for the acceptance of its international commitments. It follows, therefore, that the law is one of the basic legal acts in the independence process. Rupel stressed that in the area of foreign affairs there is no justification for Slovenia waiting for international recognition and for its services working in a legal vacuum until then. Such behavior, Rupel believes, would play into the hands of voluntarism and domination of party over state interests and would cause irremediable harm to the affirmation of the young Slovene state in the world.

The deputies then resumed work in separate sessions. [passage omitted]

Serbian Democratic Party on Bosnia's Future

LD2504223991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1550 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Sarajevo, April 25 (TANJUG)—Member of the Presidency of Yugoslavia's Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina Nikola Koljevic said today that "some facts and manifestations" are indicative of a non-democratic power struggle between members of this body.

Koljevic illustrated this point at a press conference in Sarajevo by saying that some members of the presidency, himself included, had not been informed about a recent visit to the capital of Bosnia-Hercegovina by Federal Prime Minister Ante Markovic. It also happens that only some members of the presidency are present when foreign delegations are visiting.

The seven-member presidency is formed on the parity principle of national representation: two members from among each the Moslems, the Serbs and the Croats, and one from among the other peoples and nationalities living in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

In connection with the proposed referendum on the future of Yugoslavia, the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) stressed today that the peoples of Bosnia-Hercegovina must declare themselves on its position individually and without any coalitions.

The republic's Democratic Socialist Party today asked the presidency and President Alija Izetbegovic to organize an inter-party consultation on Bosnia-Hercegovina's constitutional position as a state and its continued status within Yugoslavia.

SDS President Radovan Karadzic today said that the regionalization process in the republic should be viewed as an achievement of modern civilization which creates the necessary conditions for bringing about the economic, cultural and educational interests.

The latest recommendation by the republican government to stop further regionalization in Bosnia-Hercegovina was said to have been adopted by means of outvoting the Serbian ministers.

The SDS leader described the announcement issued in this connection as threatening in tone and indicating that the government would be prepared to violate the constitution. If this happens, it could get into trouble, because no government can be above the constitution, it was stated.

Izetbegovic on Milosevic, Bulatovic's Views

AU2604122091 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 20 Apr 91 p 5

[R.Z. report: "Milosevic's and Bulatovic's Positions Are Not the Same"]

[Text] Immediately after the end of the fourth Yugoslav presidents summit, in which it was stated among other things, "the president of the Republic of Serbia and the president of the Presidency of Montenegro consider that the proposal on a direct decision between a federal state and an alliance of states overlooks the fact that Yugoslavia exists and artificially places citizens in the position of having to choose between the indisputable fact that Yugoslavia exists as an international legal subject, and the option of an alliance of federal states, not one of which exists at present as a sovereign and independent state," we asked Bosnia-Hercegovina President Alija Izetbegovic to comment on this and to assess Slobodan Milosevic's and Momir Bulatovic's position in these talks.

Izetbegovic said that in relation to his stand in Kranj, Milosevic took a step back in his stand in Ohrid. I think that he changed his mind slightly or he wrongly read and interpreted the messages from Europe on a unified Yugoslavia. Europe does not advocate any united Yugoslavia in the old sense of the word, but is sending the message or expressing the desire that the Yugoslav peoples and republics remain together, not separate, and retain some form of community. This is therefore what Europe would want. The truth is, it seems, that it assigns this community the character of a state. However, Milosevic understands this in a different way, and this is the way I interpret his firmer stand in Ohrid as compared with the stand he presented at Brdo near Kranj. In any case, his deviation from the Kranj agreement on a referendum was quite clear in Ohrid.

Regarding Bulatovic, he holds similar stands. However, in Bulatovic's explanations during the talks, it can be noticed that he does not have exactly the same stands as Milosevic. There is what Bulatovic personally thinks about some things and there is what goes into the statement as his stand under Milosevic's influence. That is my impression because when they discuss certain things, Milosevic and Bulatovic do this separately, of course, and when the statement is being written, then this is generally dictated by Milosevic on behalf of them both.

Moreover, President Bulatovic fairly clearly sticks to the attitude of sovereignty for the republic because he wants Montenegro to be a sovereign state too and, as such, on an equal footing with Croatia, Slovenia, Serbia, and Macedonia. Likewise, when the referendum was being discussed, Montenegro had reason—because of its similar ethnic situation (because it has a strong Croatian minority on the coast)—to support a referendum among citizens and not peoples because it could be confronted with results whose consequences could be unpleasant for Montenegro.

Therefore, Bulatovic's and Milosevic's positions are realistically not the same because the situations in their republics are actually different.

Regarding further dialogue between the six of us, to be frank, I am not optimistic in this respect. However, even pessimists have a right to hope. Of course, optimism and hope are not the same thing. Considering that the only alternative to these negotiations and talks could be bleak and it could in some way lead to a conflict, I sincerely believe that no one will venture into this. Therefore, despite everything, I believe that we will nevertheless find a peaceful way out, Alija Izetbegovic said at the end of his statement.